63 Periodicals [British School]

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON
LIBRARY

SHL
WITHDRAWN

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/papers-of-the-british-school-at-rome_1955_23

PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Price £2 10s.
(£2 to Subscribers)

PAPERS
OF THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

VOLUME XXIII
(NEW SERIES, VOLUME X)

1955

PUBLISHED BY THE
BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME AT 1, LOWTHER
GARDENS, EXHIBITION ROAD, LONDON, S.W.7

Printed in Great Britain
BY RICHARD CLAY AND COMPANY, LTD.
BUNGAY, SUFFOLK

BIBL.
LONDIN.
UNIV.

CONTENTS

PAGE

JOHN CASSELS, The Cemeteries of Cyrene 1

J. B. WARD PERKINS, Notes on Southern Etruria and the Ager Veientanus (with an Appendix by Martin Frederiksen) 44

URSULA EWINS, The Enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul . . . 73

M. H. BALLANCE, Cumanın Cami'i at Antalya: A Byzantine Church. 99

J. B. WARD PERKINS, The Aqueduct of Aspendos 115

JOYCE REYNOLDS, Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania: A Supplement 124

D. A. BULLOUGH, The Counties of the *Regnum Italiae* in the Carolingian Period (774–888): A Topographical Study. I . . . 148

S. F. BRIDGES, *Langue d'Oïl* to *Volgare Siciliano* 169

Indexes 199

LIST OF PLATES

The Cemeteries of Cyrene

PLATE I. South Necropolis.

II. North Necropolis.

III. *a*. North Necropolis.
b. Group of Sarcophagi in South Necropolis.

IV. Circular Built Tomb, N 1.

V. *a, b*. Rock-cut Tombs, N 7–9, W 48.
c. Zawani: Built Rectangular Tombs.

VI. Rock-cut Tombs, N 83, N 65.

VII. *a*. Circular Tomb, S 84.
b. Rock-cut Tomb, W 28.
c. Built Tomb with Rock-cut Chambers, N 180.
d. Rock-cut Tomb with Built Balustrade, N 183.

VIII. *a, d*. Rock-cut Tombs, N 13, W 152.
b, c. Entablature and Base-moulding of N 1.
e. Carved Funerary Image.

IX. Funerary Statues.

X. *a*. Rock-cut Tomb, N 236.
b–d. Inscriptions.
e. Rock-cut Tombs in the ‘Kinissieh’ (N 66).

XI. *a*. Entablature of N 8.
b–d. Capitals of N 8, N 9, N 3.

PLATE XII. Rock-cut Tombs, N 229, W 16.

XIII. *a*. Built Rectangular Tomb, N 57.
b. Messa: Carved Door.

Southern Etruria and the Ager Veientanus

PLATE XIV. The Via Veientana between Torre Vergata and Veii.

XV. The Via Clodia between the Chapel of Sant' Isidoro and Osteria Nuova.

XVI. *a*. Tombs beside the Via Veientana, near Torre Vergata.
b, *c*. Sepolcro dei Vejenti.

XVII. *a*. The Via Clodia near Le Crocicchie.
b. Le Mura di Santo Stefano.

XVIII. *a*, *b*, *c*. Le Mura di Santo Stefano: Masonry Details.

XIX. *a*, *b*, *d*. Careiae, marble fragments.
c. Frieze-block of Tufa, beside the Via Veientana.
e. Circular Cistern near the Via Veientana.

XX. *a*, *c*. Architectural terracottas from the Via Clodia.
b, *d*. Antefix and Brick-stamp from Careiae.
XXI. *a*, *b*. Inscriptions.

Cumanın Cami'i at Antalya

PLATE XXII. The East End.

XXIII. Interior; Arches; Upper Arcading.

XXIV. Arcades and Piers, Details.

XXV. *a*, *c*. West Wall of Narthex.
b. Windows in the Outer South Wall.
d. Inscription.

Plate XXVI. *a, c.* Sculptural Details.

b, d. Inscriptions.

XXVII. *a, b, d.* Capitals.

c. South Outer Door, Detail.

The Aqueduct of Aspendos

Plate XXVIII. *a, b.* South Pressure-Tower.
XXIX. *a, b.* Main Bridge.
XXX. *a, d.* South Pressure-Tower.
b. North Pressure-Tower.
c. Pier of South Bridge.

XXXI. *a, b, c.* North Pressure-Tower.

XXXII. *a.* Masonry of Pier of Main Bridge.
b, c. South Pressure-Tower, Blocked Arch.

Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania

Plate XXXIII. *IRT* 624, 906; S 4, S 17.

XXXIV. S 18, S 19.

XXXV. S 11, S 16.

XXXVI. S 8, S 22.

XXXVII. S 15.

XXXVIII. S 15.

THE CEMETERIES OF CYRENE

(Plates I–XIII)

PAGE
General Characteristics 1
Previous Work on the Tombs 6
Types of Tomb 9
Catalogue of the Tombs 22

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

THE existence of the tombs at Cyrene, and their magnificence, have been known for many years. In the last century a number of scholars wrote descriptions of them, and some excavated here and there among them, while in the last forty years many of the better-preserved monuments have been cleared, though not published. Until the Italian occupation of Cyrenaica in 1912, and indeed for some time following it, the settled conditions necessary for a patient investigation did not exist; and after that date the skill and energy of Italian archaeologists were directed mainly to the excavation and study of the ancient city itself. So it is that no serious study of their history has yet been attempted. The first requisite for such a study is a summary of the material available; the object of the present paper is to provide a preliminary classification of the tombs, a catalogue of them with maps, and a conspectus of the work already done, which may together serve as a basis for future study.[1] The numeration of the individual tombs described in the following pages is that given in the detailed catalogue (pp. 22–43), where the letters N, E, S, and W refer to the North, East, South, and West cemeteries respectively (Figs. 1–7 and Pl. I). The bibliographical abbreviations used in the footnotes will be found in the section on previous work on the tombs (pp. 6–9).

Cyrene lies on the northern edge of a broad plateau. To the north it looks over rocky ground sloping steeply down to a plain several hundred feet below, some six miles wide and terminating abruptly in vertiginous cliffs overlooking the sea. Towards the south, the escarpment levels out into a gently undulating, upland plain of fertile soil with occasional rocky outcrops, on the edge of which the precipitous sides of the Wadi bel Ghadir curve round to protect the western and much of the southern side of the ancient city. It is the rich soil of this plain whose cultivation was largely responsible, together with its genial climate, for Cyrene's great prosperity,[2] while the outcrops of rock with

---

[1] I was enabled to do this work by a Rome Scholarship at the British School at Rome and a Research Scholarship at Trinity College, Cambridge, supplemented by a grant of £25 from the Rouse Ball Research Fund. A further grant of £50 from the Rouse Ball Research Fund has helped to meet the cost of publication. Mr J. B. Ward Perkins and Professor J. M. C. Toynbee suggested and encouraged this research, and I was also helped by discussions with Mr R. M. Cook. Mr C. N. Johns, Controller of Antiquities in Libya, put his house at my disposal during my first visit. Mr R. G. Goodchild, his successor, put me up on subsequent visits, and greatly assisted me with advice based on his deep local and general knowledge. The Antiquities Department, whose archives contain rich photographic records, gave me every assistance. Abdul Hamid shared with me much of the exertions of map-making, and Mr Sheppard Frere very kindly consented to prepare the maps for publication. Mr Alan Rowe has kindly allowed me to refer to his work which was as yet unpublished at the time of writing. To these people and institutions I wish to record my sincere thanks.

[2] *SEG* ix 2, where there is recorded the wholesale distribution of corn by Cyrene to Greece in 330–326 B.C., when it was ravaged by famine.

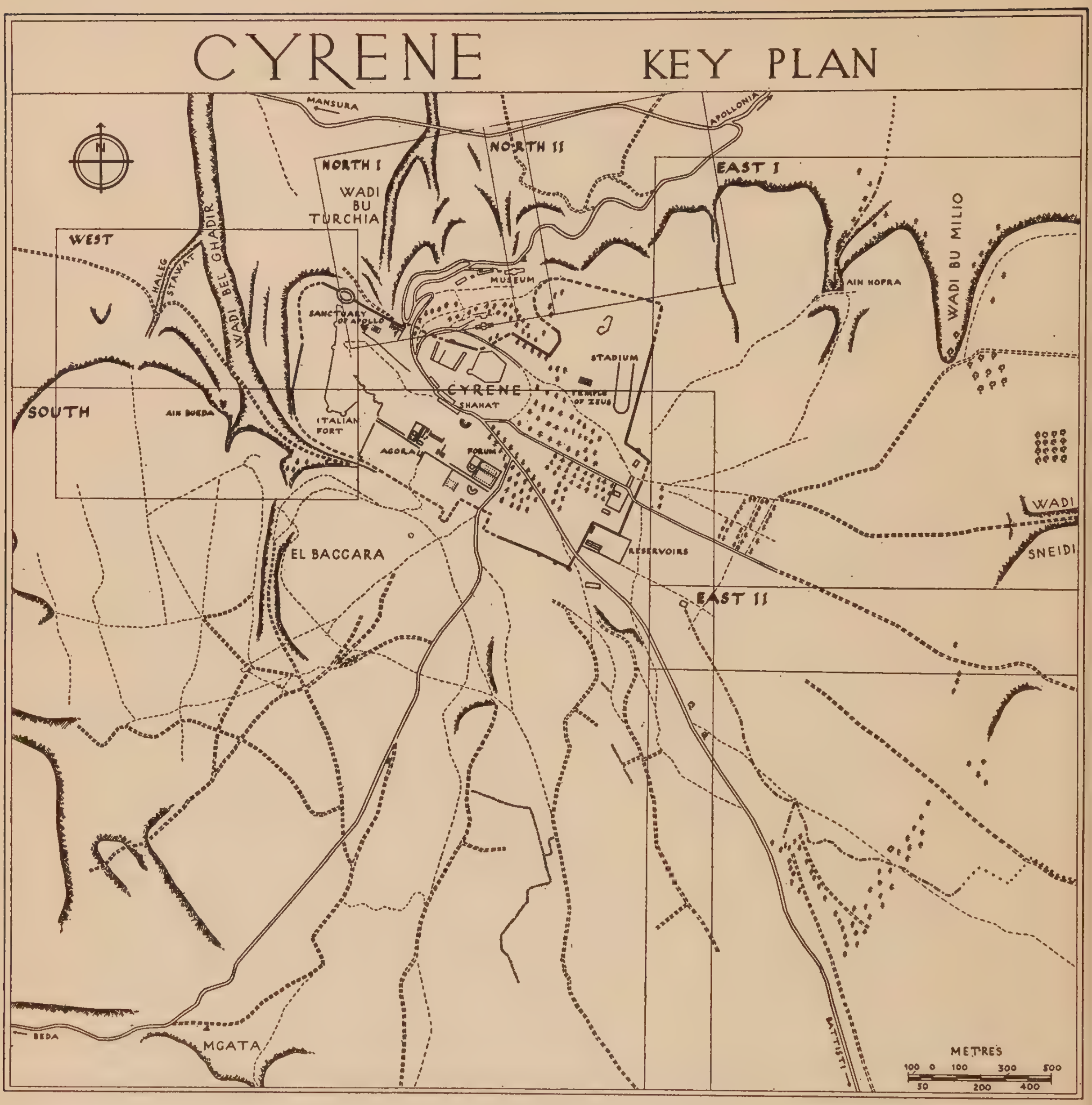


Fig. 1.

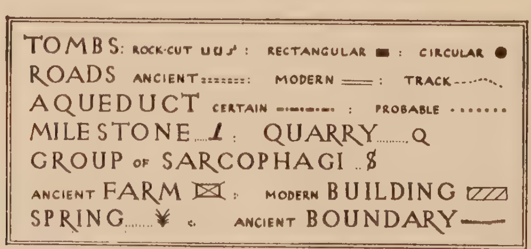

TOMBS: ROCK-CUT : RECTANGULAR ■ : CIRCULAR ●
ROADS ANCIENT : MODERN : TRACK
AQUEDUCT CERTAIN : PROBABLE
MILESTONE : QUARRY Q
GROUP OF SARCOPHAGI
ANCIENT FARM : MODERN BUILDING
SPRING : ANCIENT BOUNDARY

Fig. 2.—Cyrene: Key to Conventional Signs.

which it is interspersed provided an inexhaustible supply of material for building. The necropolis, which stretches out far beyond the city in every direction, could never have been made but for the busy exploitation of these natural resources (Pls. II, III, *a*).

The rock is a very shelly, yellow limestone. It is soft and easy to carve. Blocks of it last fairly well as long as they remain in position, but once fallen on their sides split easily and deteriorate rapidly. The tombs may be divided into those cut into this rock, and those built above ground-level, although no firm line divides the one type from the other; some rock-cut tombs connect with built ones above,[3] while built ones as often as not have burial spaces cut into the natural rock on which they stand. The first class, whose façades are cut in the rock and whose burial chambers extend horizontally into it, naturally predominate on the steep slopes to the north and in the sides of wadis. The built tombs preponderate on the plain; the stone for these was often quarried out beside them, and the sides of these quarries then used to provide façades for rock-cut tombs. Both classes are designed to hold a number of bodies, ranging from a few to over a hundred. They could easily be enlarged without alteration to the façades as need arose; this is illustrated by N 196, where the five doors close chambers each in a different stage of development and one of them not even begun. That they normally belonged to families is indicated by the inscriptions found in N 171, in which the children of Mnasarchus are recorded, and perhaps Mnasarchus himself, and by S 4, where a large stele recorded several generations of a family. Scattered amongst them, sometimes in terraces, sometimes in rectangular groups, lie large numbers of sarcophagi made to hold one body only; these, too, are rock-cut, an oblong burial space usually being carved vertically into the rock and then closed by a massive ornamental lid.

Many roads radiated from Cyrene, and it was beside these roads and in terraces above and below them that the necropolis developed. There is no topographical or chronological division between its parts, but it is convenient to divide it into North, East, South, and West, each of which has individual characteristics. To the north on the strong slopes beside the Apollonia road there grew up terraces of rock-cut tombs, many of them with large and elaborate façades. Rock-cut tombs developed to the west too, in the Wadi bel Ghadir and its tributary the Halag Stawat; they are in general smaller and meaner than those of the north necropolis, though not less curious. To the south lay large numbers of tombs, but today they are sadly decreased in interest because their exposed position has laid them especially open to stone-robbing and weathering, and made them peculiarly desirable as dwellings and store-chambers to the local population. Eastwards lie some of the biggest built tombs of Cyrene, and though badly weathered, their structures have not yet been disturbed. None, or very few, of the tombs have escaped the hand of the robber, who began his activities many hundreds of years ago. Excavation has shown, however, that, even if rich prizes are not to be expected, most uncleared tombs retain some of their contents, which were overlooked or despised by the robber and are sufficient to give an indication of date.

Before going on to describe the various types of tomb it will be as well to discuss several features common to all or most of them. Inhumation was by far the most common way of disposing of the dead. Some of the small built monuments like N 383 seem intended to cover cinerary urns, and in N 1 a pot was found containing charred bones. But the form of the tombs, with their brackets for broad stone shelves, shows that they were designed to hold bodies. To judge from the large round-headed nails found in several tombs by Rowe, wooden coffins were in common use, though there is a solitary example of a stone coffin in a built tomb at Messa. In Roman times marble sarcophagi, some of them elaborately carved, were also used.[4]

---

[3] Horn, fig. 31, where a reconstruction of S 185 is illustrated.

The tombs are closed by heavy stone doors, some of them plain, but most carved with panels in imitation of wood. In many cases the top half of a door was carved in the natural rock, and only the lower half was movable. There are also some complete false doors cut in the rock; this is occasionally an imitation entrance to what is really a sarcophagus, whose interior was in fact reached by lifting the lid. The doors have two bosses on either side of the front at the bottom, between which there is a slot. Levers were thrust under the bosses to force the doors into position. If the door had to be opened, it was done by passing a hook through the slot and pulling. When a tomb chamber was full this was sometimes indicated by inscribing ΠΛΗΡΗΣ on the door or above it.

The names of the greater part of the dead were not recorded in any form that has come down to us. The elaborate façades of the large tombs offered no place where they could be carved without causing disfigurement, and even in the less pretentious ones few cared to cause names to be cut. Some are commemorated by inscriptions carved on the interior walls of tombs, but these are casual and ill-cut. The normal way to record a name seems to have been to have it inscribed either on a stele or on a base for a funeral statue. On their roofs rock-cut tombs have benches and built tombs and sarcophagi have platforms. On these the memorials might be placed, and in this conspicuous position they would easily be seen by passers-by. The stele is the simpler form; made of marble, it is usually about 1 m. high, rectangular in plan, and tapers gently towards the top, which consists of a cyma reversa surmounted by a plain fillet. The name of the dead was carved on the side facing the road, sometimes incorporated in suitable verse.[5] The bases for statues are of marble, and about 50 cm. high; they have mouldings, generally carved, at top and bottom, which are not carried round the back if that was not to be visible; they never serve for more than one person. A person's identity was indicated by his name in the nominative, followed by his father's name in the genitive. Exceptions to this occur in Roman times, and in names cut in rock. Here, if the father's name is omitted, that of the tomb's occupant is often in the genitive; and occasionally both names are put into that case.

Funerary statues were one of the commonest and most conspicuous features of the necropolis (Pls. VIII, IX).[6] They represent a female mourning figure. They are never full-length, but range between three-quarter length and representations of the head and shoulders only, the majority being about half-length. Nearly all are of marble. Some stood on inscribed bases, but that many did not is shown by the large numbers of statues still lying beside built tombs, especially in the east necropolis, and the very few bases associated with them. One built tomb of average size, E 140, had at least four statues on its roof, none of which seems to have had a base. Bases were much more commonly used on rock-cut tombs, and the statues were often protected when in position on these by a balustrade at their back running the width of the tomb. For this reason the space for the statues was sometimes narrow, and they are accordingly rather flat, and summarily treated at the back. No tomb, rock-cut or built, can ever have had enough room for sufficient statues for one to be associated with every occupant.

---

[4] A. L. Pietrogrande, *Africa Italiana*, iii, 1930 pp. 107–40.

[5] *SEG* ix 193, 194.

[6] The best discussion of them is to be found in Chamoux, pp. 293–300, with bibliography.

No satisfactory conclusion has been reached as to the identity and date of these figures; nor, despite long discussion, has any satisfactory explanation been offered for the remarkable fact that, although most of the figures have faces carved in the conventional way, there are some which do not. Of these, some beautiful heads have a carved veil covering half the face, though not obliterating the features; and some have no faces at all, but a blank rounded space of uncarved stone. The suggestion that it was so left for a face to be painted in[7] can be dismissed. These are clearly not portrait statues. Nor were they merely unfinished, as there is not enough stone left from which the features could ever have been carved. This has led Chamoux to suggest a religious explanation: that the figures represent a deity, which in the archaic period had no face, since it would have been considered impious to portray her features, and that as these misgivings were gradually discarded, at first half-veiled, and finally wholly-revealed, features were carved. But an examination of the evidence does not bear out the chronology. None of the figures appears to be in fact older than the fourth century B.C., least of all those with uncarved faces; on the contrary, all three types seem to be contemporary. Nor is it likely that marble would have been used extensively at Cyrene before then. With the exception of a very few statues, it does not seem to have been imported before the end of the fifth century B.C.; and each of the early marble statues is a work of art, unlike most of the funerary busts, which were plainly mass-produced. The suggestion that the half-veiled statues represent a half-way stage to complete portrayal is, in itself, not very compelling.

A veiled face is difficult to carve, and few cared to attempt it, though when they did they were remarkably successful. The majority were content to carve the face normally, with the cloak, which served as a veil, held in the left hand, the veiling part hanging down beside the head, as if momentarily drawn aside, and lying in folds below. Our faceless deity, on the other hand—and this is a further problem—appears not to be veiled at all; as in all the other funerary statues, the right hand is across the body and the left raised, but here the left hand is deprived of its normal task, that of holding the veil, and is engaged instead in adjusting the cloak on the shoulder. This meaningless gesture is adopted because that is the customary position for the hand in funerary statues, and it is so placed even when its function has been usurped. It has been usurped, I suggest, because it is not the cloak which here veiled the face, but a real veil of woven material. Where there is a disc on the top of the head, the seating perhaps of a metal crown, it would be suspended from this. It completely covered the area of the face, and it was therefore deemed unnecessary to carve it. This suggestion accords with the facts, and explains why some of the faces are left uncarved and others appear not to have been veiled, contrary to the prevailing custom.

These figures must indeed have represented a goddess, but who this was is less certain. She may be Gê, the Earth, mourning her offspring. She may be Cyrene, grieving the death of a subject. That she had a local significance is implied by the fact that similar statues do not seem to have been recorded from other sites. Perhaps Chamoux's suggestion, Persephone, is the most probable. They range in date from the fourth century B.C. to late Hellenistic times, if not indeed into Roman times, although none can be shown to be so late. Roman monuments sometimes had portrait busts; the Antonine bust found by Norton in the North Necropolis is an example. The lids of the Roman marble sarcophagi often represent man and wife on the lid, lying on their sides. These are all typical Attic kline-sarcophagi of the second century A.D. Small aedicular monuments, too, are preserved with carved portrait reliefs. One archaic Greek stele is preserved, a relief of a warrior, carved in limestone. This goes back to the first half of the sixth century, and is the oldest funerary relic known from Cyrene. Where it originally stood is uncertain.

---

[7] Norton, pp. 157 ff.

The funerary sculpture of Cyrene deserves a special study. It cannot be said that there is any lack of material. Although many of the best-preserved statues have been removed to the precincts of the museum without any record to show where each once stood, many others still lie where they fell and can be associated with individual tombs. The buildings and sculptures should, if studied together, add much to our knowledge of each.

Many tombs throughout the necropolis, both rock-cut and built, have been disfigured by the cutting of niches in their façades. These are often clustered in great numbers all over the face of a tomb, and no attempt has been made to organise their spacing. The effect is hideous. A typical example is to be seen in W 16, where a finely cut and painted Doric entablature has been hacked about, mainly in the metopes, to provide niches (Pl. XII, *b*). These vary in shape and size from tomb to tomb, but are usually about 20 cm. broad and high, 10 cm. deep, and are semicircular at the top. Other larger ones sometimes have a rectangular recess of a few centimetres breadth and depth bordering them, where wooden frames may have fitted. It is certain that the niches were not made by those who built the tombs; but in the Sanctuary of Budrasc niches of the same type made under similar conditions have been assigned to the fourth and following centuries B.C.[8] The practice is likely, therefore, to date from a fairly early period in the history of the tombs. What they held is not certain, but it must surely have been some sort of offering to the dead. The niches at Budrasc seem to have held figurines; those in the interior of N 213 look as if they were for lamps. Probably these niches served for a great variety of donations, some of the larger taking small funerary statues, and the rest holding figurines, pots, lamps, and flowers. Some tombs have channels cut in the rock over the doorways. These prevented water dripping over the doors, which was not only inconvenient, but resulted in accretions on the rock caused by the lime in the water. They were usually hidden by the façade built against the rock-face.

PREVIOUS WORK ON THE TOMBS

The earliest useful publication is that of the French traveller J. R. Pacho, *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaïque, &c.*, 2 vols., Paris, 1827 (Pacho).[9] The Cyrenaica Pacho visited was lawless, and the Arabs hostile to the infidel. One cannot fail to admire the energy which brought Pacho to carry out his single-handed expedition, and the industry with which he sketched and took notes. They give an impression of the characteristics of the tombs and their general appearance which is not bettered elsewhere. His main defect is a lack of close observation. Plates XXXII and XXXIV of his work may be cited as instances. Plate XXXII illustrates N 65, and shows each door-lintel with four regulae beneath it. Plate XXXIV gives an elevation of the same tomb, but here only three regulae appear to each lintel. In fact, there are five. This tomb has a wide façade and seven doors, but the centre has fallen down. Pacho's elevation shows only the right-hand part, presented as if it were a complete three-door tomb in itself. Nevertheless, his illustrations of the necropolis are the most copious that exist and, with the exception of some of the photographs, still the most illuminating. The text is useful where it supplements the illustrations.

---

[8] Silvio Ferri, 'Il Santuario di Budrasc', *Notiziario Archeologico*, iii, 1922, pp. 95–9.

[9] Abbreviations given in brackets after works mentioned in this section are used for reference purposes elsewhere.

Plates XLV and XLVI give by far the fuller, and almost the only, information about N 180, which has largely been destroyed since 1862. Plates XLIX, L, LII, and LIII illustrate in colour a painted tomb which is today lost. Hamilton criticises some of the details, but if this is borne in mind it still remains an excellent record. The site of this tomb is a mystery. Hamilton's description shows that it lies somewhere below N 2–9. But no tomb there now visible answers to the requirements, even supposing the paintings to have disappeared. The accounts show it to have been a bare and featureless rectangular room, entered by a plain doorway, and with a well in the middle of it. Perhaps it has been buried beneath a fall of earth. Plate LIV reproduces, with some fanciful details of Pacho's own, painted metopes from the tomb in the western cemetery. This tomb is also mentioned by the Beecheys, de Bourville, and Hamilton, and must have been high on the west side of the Haleg Stawat. Both W 97 and W 98 lie buried to the height of their entablatures, which are painted and crowned internal façades. The rest of these two tombs has fallen down. The missing tomb may be near, though it stood on its own according to Pacho's description, and has also no doubt fallen in. The Beecheys describe it as having an exterior as well as interior façade, a feature unique for this type of tomb, which normally has only a carved doorway on the outside.

Pacho was preceded by Captain F. W. Beechey, R.N., F.R.S., and his brother H. W. Beechey, Esq., F.S.A., but their book, *Proceedings of an Expedition to explore the Northern Coast of Africa from Tripoly eastward, in 1821 and 1822* (Beechey), was published at London in 1828, a year later than Pacho's. This work, with its great and admitted merits, unfortunately does not far extend our knowledge of the necropolis. The two coloured illustrations of the painted tomb in the Haleg Stawat are useful, and the text is occasionally of service where individual tombs are described. The general description of the necropolis is, however, banal and inaccurate, and is too apt to give way to such generalisations as (p. 422), 'The earlier tombs may be distinguished by their simplicity and good taste, the later by a more ornamental and a more vitiated style.'

Vattier de Bourville was a hunter for art-treasures. In 1848 he directed his attention to Cyrene; whence happily it soon wandered, though not before he had dug in W 107 and removed the painted metopes from the tomb in the Haleg Stawat. His exploits are reported in *Archives des Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires*, i, 1850, pp. 580–6 (de Bourville); a very similar account appears in *Revue Archéologique*, v, 1848, pp. 150–4 and 279–81.

A few years later James Hamilton visited Cyrene in the course of the travels which he later published in *Wanderings in North Africa*, London, 1856 (Hamilton). His style is easy and flowing, and his observation acute and sensible. It must be remembered that he was travelling for pleasure and did not take upon himself the fatiguing researches of Pacho or the brothers Beechey. Nevertheless, he set down in his chapter on the tombs (pp. 62–77) a lucid narrative, which remained until recently the most comprehensive and will long remain the most elegant account available. He did not make drawings himself, and his illustrations are taken from Pacho, except for that of the Fountain of Apollo, which is from the Beecheys.

R. M. Smith and E. A. Porcher, authors of *The History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene*, London, 1864 (Smith & Porcher), were the first to dig extensively at Cyrene. They soon concluded that little was to be found in the necropolis. Thereafter they carried out excavations in the ancient city, and it is the account of these that gives the book its great importance. There is, however, a short but accurate description of the tombs. It is accompanied by a fairly large selection of views of the necropolis and of single tombs. These, the work of Porcher, are uneven in merit. The plans are of interest, and the general views of the necropolis give a vivid impression of its appearance, setting and present condition, but individual tombs are portrayed with indifferent accuracy. The 'tomb of residence' illustrated by Plate 9 is one of the rock-cut chambers in the steep slope east of the Sanctuary of Apollo; these, if they were tombs, early lost all trace of their sepulchral attributes, and served in antiquity as storerooms and granaries. Plate 21 shows a Roman painted tomb-interior from the north necropolis which I have not been able to identify. Some unpublished water-colours and plans of tombs by Porcher are to be seen in the Greek and Roman Department of the British Museum.

George Dennis arrived in Benghazi in 1864 to undertake the office of British Vice-Consul, but with the express purpose of digging. He found at Benghazi '. . . gaping sepulchres, all opened and rifled of late years' and '. . . learned that to M. Vattier de Bourville . . . the chief part of this wholesale rifling was to be ascribed . . .' The lesson he drew was that his own activities, which resembled those of M. de Bourville so closely as to be indistinguishable, would go forward with greater success elsewhere. Cyrene's necropolis rewarded him poorly, however, and after finding an apparently intact tomb which contained only a group of small vases he moved on. His work in Cyrenaica is outlined in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, 2nd Ser., ix, 1870, pp. 135–82.

The first photographs of the necropolis were published by H. Weld-Blundell to illustrate his article 'A Visit to Cyrene in 1895' in the *Annual of the British School at Athens*, ii, 1895–6, pp. 113 ff. (Weld-Blundell). His attention was attracted to the archaic rock-cut tombs, and it is these that he discusses in the text. Some notes are furnished by Professor Studniczka. This represents a first step forward towards determining the date of any of the tombs.

The Norton Expedition's work at Cyrene is reported in the *Bulletin of the Archaeological Institute of America*, 1911, No. 4 (Norton). The inscriptions which they found are published by D. M. Robinson in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, xvii, 1913, pp. 157–200 (Robinson). Norton was the first to focus attention on and discuss the funerary statues. To understand the topography it must be borne in mind that the Haleg Shaloof is referred to in the reports as the Wadi Tahouna, and that the camp lay a little west of this.

There followed the Italian occupation of Cyrenaica, and with it extensive and fruitful researches in the ancient city of Cyrene. Further inscriptions were published by G. Oliverio. This is the only solid contribution to the published material on the necropolis that appeared during this time. They are referred to under their numbers in the *Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, ix (*SEG* ix). Benedetto Maioletti published three short articles with drawings and photographs, which have some value; they appeared in *Rivista delle Colonie Italiane* for July 1930, pp. 568 ff. and for September 1931, pp. 714 ff. and in *Architettura e Arti Decorative*, Anno ii, pp. 321 ff. (Maioletti 1, 2 & 3 respectively). Though little was published, much work was done. Many tombs beside the Apollonia road were cleared, and repairs were carried out, notably at Zawani.[9a] The photographic archives contain many excellent plates of the more arresting tombs, and occasionally record material which has since disappeared. These valuable exertions were brought to a close by the war. Towards the end of the Italian regime the tombs were cleared of their modern inhabitants by order of the governor, Graziani, under an ambitious scheme for transferring the local population elsewhere and making Cyrene an entirely archaeological zone. These people have now returned to their former dwellings, which provide a warm and dry refuge for man and beast during the heavy winter rains. It must be allowed that, if they do not embellish, they do not much harm them; and the principal monuments are kept clear by the Antiquities Department.

Since the war excavations on a small scale have been carried out in the necropolis. T. Burton Brown excavated and published the material from some of the tombs in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* lxviii, 1948, pp. 148–52 (Burton Brown). Alan Rowe brought an expedition from Manchester University in 1952, and excavated in the necropolis. He left a record of his finds and where they came from, as well as the finds themselves, at Cyrene, and I have had access to these (Rowe).

Die Antike, 1943, contains an article by R. Horn entitled 'Kyrene', pp. 197–203 of which are devoted to the necropolis (Horn). The photographs are good, but the text may be ignored; it adds nothing that is both new and true to what has already been written, though there is much information in it which is not to be found elsewhere.

The latest relevant study to appear is F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la Monarchie des Battiades*, Paris, 1953 (Chamoux), a work which makes a serious attempt to link Cyrene's history with the evidence supplied by archaeology. A concise, orderly, and suggestive discussion of the necropolis appears at pp. 287–300. It is documented by well-chosen photographs (whose format one could wish larger), and supplies the best introduction to the tombs available. The book also contains an excellent bibliography, which I have found of great service.

TYPES OF TOMB

The tombs may be separated into those for single and those for multiple interments. The former consist of sarcophagi; the latter may conveniently be further sub-divided into the built circular, the built rectangular, and the rock-cut monuments. As will be seen, there are points where these categories overlap, but the classification is broadly speaking valid. In the following pages each of the four types will be considered in turn.

[9a] Often, but incorrectly, known as the Ras el Hilal tombs. They lie on the middle plateau, beside the road from Lamluda to Ras el Hilal.

1. *Sarcophagi*

The number of these in the neighbourhood of Cyrene may be estimated at not less than two thousand. They often stand by themselves, but are generally in terraces, or placed in rectangular groups, though never more than roughly aligned. They consist of two pieces (Pl. III, *b*). The lower half is generally, though not always, cut in the natural rock, a characteristic exception being when they are for the inside of a circular monument; even then they are still made of a single piece of stone, unless large compartments are wanted which could hold several bodies. The length is about 3 m., the breadth 1·5 m., and the depth 1 m. The sides are about 15 cm. thick. On this rectangular chest was placed the lid, which relied on weight alone to seal the contents. Two main kinds of lid were in use. The first, and much the more common, resembles a ridge roof. The thickness of the lid, which fits exactly on top of the lower part, is about 20 cm. at the sides, and 50 cm. at the ridge. At its four corners there are vertical projections resembling acroteria. In the centre there is a rectangular plinth at the height of the ridge, on which a stele or statue might be placed. A few examples lack this central platform, and a few others only slope down on one side of the ridge, the other side presenting a flat horizontal surface. The second kind of lid consists merely of a massive slab of stone about 50 cm. thick. That these two types were in use at the same time is shown by such monuments as E 71, where they occur together. In S 77 sarcophagi with acroteria are found in conjunction with a rectangular burial space closed by several thick slabs placed side by side.

There is good evidence for the dating of these sarcophagi. The only two whose excavation has been reported are assigned, though tentatively, to the later half of the fourth century B.C.[10] The Norton expedition recorded five inscriptions on sarcophagi, clearly designed to name the persons within.[11] They are cut on the side of the central plinth or in the sloping surfaces of the lid. None is earlier than the fourth century B.C., and none can be much later than the third. To these may be added a sixth, cut on the side of the plinth of a sarcophagus about 40 metres west of N 241. It reads ΕΥΟΠΙΔΑ (Pl. X, *c*). I have been unable to find the sarcophagus recorded by Oliverio as reading ΦΑΥΣΤΕΙΝΑ Κ,[12] a name which would place the sarcophagus in the Roman period. There seems to be room for doubting the correctness of the reading;[13] and even if the reading were correct the sarcophagus might very well have been re-used, as some tombs undoubtedly were.[14] More than one sarcophagus has a narrow recessed panel cut at the bottom of its plinth, a feature common in the architecture of Cyrene in the fourth and successive centuries, and unknown in the Roman period (see p. 12). Finally, the form of the lid, which is imitative of the roof universal on built rectangular tombs and cannot be other than copied from it, further indicates the date. The tombs in question, as we shall see, seem to date from the fourth to, at latest, the beginning of the second century B.C. Unfortunately none of the stelae or statues preserved has been recorded as belonging to a sarcophagus, though some of them probably did. However, it may be said that the accumulated evidence points overwhelmingly to the fourth and third centuries as those in which this kind of monument flourished.

---

[10] Burton Brown, p. 149. The dating cannot be far wrong.

[11] Cf. Robinson, under the numbers 22, 23, 26 (*a*) and (*b*), 50. The correct reading of 50 is perhaps Ἀριστοτέλευς, not -εις. Fig. 16 shows a recessed panel in the bottom of a plinth.

[12] Cf. G. Oliverio, *Documenti Antichi dell' Africa Italiana, Cirenaica* II i 1933, No. 124; and hence *SEG* ix 236.

[13] Oliverio, *op. cit.*, says in a footnote to p. 116 that for reasons beyond his control transcripts are published instead of photographs of certain inscriptions. This is done at Plates L, LI. These include inscriptions Nos. 115–18, 120, 124. Nos. 115–18, all from bases from N 171, are accurately cut and regularly spaced, although this is not plain from Plate LI, figs. 71–4. The lettering of No. 120 is indeed rough, but the reading and transcript differ widely from the truth. The correct reading is:

. . . . ạρης (erased)
Μνάσαρχος Ἴασις
Κυδιμάχα Θευχρήστω
ἱάρεια

Over this has been carved by a later hand:

Κληνάτα Ἀριστοτέλευς
ἱάρεια Ἥρας

There is red paint in the lettering. Below is

πλήρης

It is manifest that O. had not seen the original or he could not have published the text he did; he relied on the transcript furnished by an inept assistant. Hence one accepts the reading of No. 124 (Pl. L, fig. 79) with some reserve, especially since it is most unusual for the numeral signifying the age of the interred not to be preceded by L (= ἐτῶν).

[14] *E.g.* N 236.

2. *Built Circular Tombs*

These may be divided into several types, some of which may be seen to develop from each other. The best-preserved, though not the oldest, is N 1, and it will be best to begin by discussing this tomb. It stands on a square crepidoma bordered by steps (Pls. IV, VIII, *b*), four in number, except where they merge with the naturally sloping rock. The drum of the circular superstructure is 8·07 metres in diameter at the base, and stands 1·72 metres high. It is built of blocks that are well cut and well fitted, although left roughly dressed on the inside, and has elegant base and entablature mouldings. The latter correspond to a full Doric entablature of the style of the Treasury of Cyrene at Delphi, but without the frieze and the soffit.[15] The carving must be due to Ionic influence. The roof slopes up gently towards the centre and is made of three concentric rings of blocks segmental in plan. They had ridges at their radial edges, so that they fitted together like tiles, but never had anything corresponding to the inverted tiles to protect the joints. This kind of roofing block is used on many of the rock-cut tombs, as well as on built tombs of all kinds. The arrangement at the centre of the roof is not clear.

The crepidoma does not extend far under the inside of the drum, which could not be entered, and was therefore never visible. All the interior walls rest on the natural rock. This is a feature of all similar tombs; but the interior of N 1 is singular in many other respects. It incorporates a built rectangular tomb, containing two compartments, and an extra wall on the north to help to carry the roof. This rectangular tomb was never completed, as an examination of the outside of its southern wall shows. The cyma reversa moulding at the top of its steps was never finished, and the masonry's surface was not finally dressed. It was, therefore, under construction when the plan was abandoned in favour of the more stately circular tomb. This necessitated cutting down the two southern corners and removing any masonry above the height needed to hold the new tomb's roof. The doors remain in position. This monument is important for the history of rectangular tombs, and will be mentioned again (pp. 14, 16).

The grave furniture was placed inside a chamber hewn out of the natural rock underneath, to which access was gained by a vertical shaft south of the crepidoma. It was cleared at the end of 1925 and beginning of 1926. Fortunately a very brief account of the clearing and three photographs of some of the objects found survive in the archives of the Antiquities Department. In the shaft there was a rectangular slab of marble and an inscribed marble base. Both are unphotographed and cannot now be traced. The tomb had been broken into in ancient times, and the interior was found in disorder. Photographs record the following objects, all of which have since disappeared: a large ribbed black-glaze vase, which contained charred bones; another similar but smaller vase, a one-handled cup, a lamp, an askos, and a lid, all black-glazed; six alabaster objects; a signet ring, and a corroded coin. The group points to a date about the middle of the fourth century B.C., or a little later.[16]

---

[15] *Fouilles de Delphes*, ii, Jean Bousquet, *Le Trésor de Cyrène*, Paris, 1953. The upper part of the building is dated (p. 69) to 335–330 B.C.

Each step of the crepidoma has, cut at the foot of the riser, a recessed panel, 3·5 cm. high, 1 cm. deep, and ending 3·5 cm. from the edge. Similar recessed panels in risers are fairly commonly found on the mainland of Greece, as for example in the Temple of Apollo at Bassae and in Olympia,[17] and they are characteristic of architecture at Cyrene in the Greek period. The Temple of Zeus, which was built in the late sixth century, had a continuous recess in each riser, with a recessed panel cut beneath it in each block. There is but one example of this more elaborate form in the necropolis, beside S 394. The second Temple of Apollo, dated to about 350 B.C., has a single continuous recess in each riser, and no recessed panel. Of this there are no examples in the necropolis. The Strategeion, which is dated somewhat later in the same century, employs a single recessed panel and also a double one, one within the other. Both forms occur also in the marble altar of Apollo (about 350 B.C.) and the Temple of Hades (undated), and occasionally in the necropolis, *e.g.* S 185. Single recessed panels occur on nearly all the remaining Greek buildings in the city that are not earlier than the fourth century, and with great frequency in the necropolis. No example occurs in Roman times in the city, and presumably therefore not in the necropolis either. They are to be found also on the course of blocks above the orthostats of many buildings.

N 1 is exceptional in its interior arrangements. Other tombs of the same type show that the interior was normally made of concentric rings of masonry. E 47 has four, and so must have had four rings of blocks forming the roof also. This raises the question of where the burials were made. It may well be that this was done, as in N 1, in a compartment excavated underneath, whose entrance is now hidden underground. N 1 is also exceptional in the elaboration of its carvings. Not many others are well enough preserved to show what the entablatures were like, but many of the base mouldings survive and are usually not carved. A fine example of this kind of tomb stands at Meghernes; it has two rings of masonry only, and uncarved mouldings. The fact that the mouldings are plain does not argue for a different date. The mouldings of rock-cut tombs standing in a row often alternate between carved and uncarved, though clearly contemporary. The smallest monument of this kind is E 150; it consists of two square courses, above which there are two circular moulded courses, then a superstructure of one ring of masonry only, and the roof. It resembles closely the so-called Tomb of Onomastus, which stands in the Agora, a fact which strengthens the claim of this building to be a tomb, and gives an indication of the period when it was first built.

This type of tomb with a circular superstructure resting on a rectangular stepped base is eclipsed in size and elaboration by another kind, a few examples of which stand in the east cemetery, of which the best preserved is E 15. This group has all the features of the group just discussed, but the steps rest, not on the ground, but on a large podium.

---

[16] The photographs are 1602 E 632, 1603 F 777, 1691 F 815.

[17] W. B. Dinsmoor, *Architecture of Ancient Greece*, 1950, p. 155.

This podium has a top surface sloping up to the steps, formed of the familiar roofing blocks with ridged edges. It also has a carved entablature exactly like that on the drum of N 1, and presumably had like base mouldings too. Two considerations make it probable that this type precedes the other, although the carving is so similar that they cannot be far apart in date. The first is that this type offers in its podium a place where the bodies might have been put, though excavation is needed to show this was actually done; its omission, as we have seen, creates difficulties. The second is that the sloping roof of the podium occurs in presumably contemporary rectangular tombs of similar size and elaboration; these leave a trace on smaller tombs derived from them, such as those at Zawani (Pl. V, *c*), in that they are surrounded by flagstones which incline quite strongly outwards and can hardly be explained as other than reminiscences of the podium roof; and the rectangular tomb inside N 1 is of the same period as the Zawani tombs, as is also N 1 itself, the former being of the same type though less ornate, and the latter having very similar mouldings. The details of the drum of these monuments are not at all clear; E 15 at any rate has cross-walls inside, instead of concentric walls, but the roof must have been made up of rings in the normal way.

Much simpler than the preceding two types are those that have a square crepidoma, above which a ring-wall encloses sarcophagi containing interments. Sometimes, as in S 77, this ring stands on circular steps. Here the wall is plain, and inside there are sarcophagi with acroteria, so that it was presumably not roofed. N 253 has a simple moulding at the base of its wall and has recessed panels. The platform has a course of large blocks of drafted masonry, which is not an early feature of buildings at Cyrene, and is usually Hellenistic. These characteristics of this type of tomb combine to show that, in spite of their often robust and archaic appearance, they are not in fact earlier than the fourth century. They are derived from the types already discussed, although they may not be much later in date.

Here mention must be made of E 174, which resembles the first types of tomb in its large size, its crepidoma of excellent construction and the well-formed mouldings at the base of the circular wall, with recessed panels. But it had no roof—at least no trace of roofing blocks or interior walls to support it remain—and it appears to have had interments inside, so that it is a sort of prototype of the type just discussed, and may represent a transition. Rowe dug in this tomb and found material suggesting a fourth-century date.

A fourth type of circular tomb is distinguished by the omission of the square platform; instead, the wall stands on two or three circular steps. A good example is E 48. In this tomb the upper two of three steps have recessed panels, which are spaced regularly, even though the blocks are of unequal length. The original purpose, that of emphasising the jointing, has been lost sight of, and a panel may overrun the joint between two blocks, and a long block may have two panels in it. This tomb does not seem to have been roofed, but the top course did have a simple profile, a quarter-roundel surmounted by a fillet. Normally, however, the walls are quite plain, and sometimes only the outside is circular, the inside of the blocks being left with straight edges. The walls vary in structure, some of them consisting of three or four courses of blocks about 30 cm. high and others of single slabs some 90 cm. high.

There is, finally, a simpler type of tomb than this, in which the interments are again made in the middle, but the circular walls are composed of tall slabs with spaces between them, sometimes left empty entirely (Pl. VII, *a*) and sometimes filled by smaller stones half the height of the others. Some have a circular base, like E 232, but most do not.

These last two types consist in essence of a wall which surrounds and demarcates the interments, just as tall stones are also used most commonly round Cyrene to surround and demarcate fields, and border the sides of roads. Hence there is no reason why the wall should necessarily be circular, and in fact square enclosures, like E 71, are equally common, and even D-shaped ones, like E 226, are found.

3. *Built Rectangular Tombs*

As with the circular tombs it seems likely that the first rectangular tombs are the large ones east of the city, like E 16. The podium and steps resemble those of round tombs, but were surmounted by a large rectangular structure. Exactly what form this took it is hard to say. E 72 may have had four compartments, and half-columns can be seen which came, not it seems from doorways, but a pseudo-peripteral colonnade. S 2 is not on this large scale, but may show what some of the big tombs were like. It is a square structure with an entrance on the north side. This opens on to a corridor down the centre, off which five compartments opened on either side. These had brackets for shelves to receive the coffins. On the other hand, as we have seen, the circular tombs seem to have had no arrangements for burials above and to have used the podium, and this may well have happened in rectangular tombs too. In such cases the superstructure would have been purely ornamental and perhaps supported a large statue.

Derived from these large rectangular tombs are the built tombs which form, after the sarcophagi, the most common individual type of monument in the necropolis. The majority are now no more than heaps of weathered stones. The finest examples are to be seen at Zawani. They were repaired by the Italian Department of Antiquities in 1935, and are in excellent preservation (Pl. V, *c*). The sloping flag-stones which border them have already been mentioned (p. 13). The entablature mouldings are precisely those of the circular drum of N 1, while the rectangular tomb inside N 1 is a simple version of the same type. The four steps with a moulding above the top one, the pilasters with Doric capitals at each corner, the doorway cut through the steps, and the door itself are all present in both. The Doric pilaster capitals on built and rock-cut tombs are of the distinctive form of those on the fourth-century Strategeion. The internal arrangements of these tombs are most practical. The interior is made up of one compartment, or more commonly of two side by side. On either side of each compartment continuous brackets run the length of the tomb at intervals in height of about 1·50 m. On these were placed stone shelves, which carried the bodies. Each tomb usually had room for three tiers of coffins, so that, if each shelf took two bodies, the normal tomb could hold twelve occupants. Immediately above the tomb-compartments some of the better tombs had a course of horizontal slabs, which made for strength and security from the rain; but this feature was often omitted. The roof itself was made of a series of slabs, each about 75 cm. broad. In two-compartment tombs each section was made of two slabs which met at the ridge, except for the pediments, which are of one. Running most of the length of the roof there was the platform on which the statues or stele was placed. On E 10 there stood a stele inscribed ΠΩΛΥΔΑΜΑΣ/ΕΥΑΙΝΩ in rather uneven fourth- or third-century letters. There were acroteria at the top and sides of the pediments, or at least places for them. Some monuments have evenly spaced holes on the top of the pediment meant perhaps for metal ornamentation, although no vestige of this has anywhere survived.

Many of the doorways are most ornate and elegantly carved. There are fine examples of carved doorways in the ancient city, belonging, where dated, to the fourth century B.C. Those of the Temple of Demeter and the Temple of Artemis may be mentioned as examples in marble, and other marble pieces not in position are to be found lying above the so-called Temple of Jason Magnus and by the Temple of Hecate. The door of the Strategeion is of limestone, and two blocks from a carved jamb of the same material lie on the left of the entrance of the so-called Temple of Castor. The Treasury of Cyrene at Delphi had a particularly correct and splendid door. This tradition is fully sustained in the necropolis, where great care has been expended on the many varieties of door used (Pl. XIII, *b*).

Architecturally it is somewhat incongruous that the doors should be cut through the steps of the tombs, but this was necessary for practical as well as for aesthetic reasons. The proportions of a door above the steps would have been unpleasantly squat; but, more important, it would have been inconvenient as a means of access to the interior, which usually extends some way down into the natural rock; and since the steps were in any case ornamental, there was no reason why they should not be so cut. The steps are treated variously where they are cut through. The commonest arrangement is that at Zawani, where the entrance is flanked by a slab which projects outwards at the level of the highest step as far as the bottom one. Frequently they are simply cut off at the doorway, as in N 57; the abruptness of this is mitigated to some extent by the use of the recessed panel.

A few tombs similar in other respects do not have a door. E 19 is an example of this. Here the steps and outer walls are not structurally connected with the inside, which has two compartments and two tiers of shelves. The external steps and walls are in effect a protective and ornamental case for a robust structure within, an arrangement that recalls the walls built round sarcophagi to protect them. Rowe dug in this tomb and found abundant material which is unequivocally near 300 B.C. in date.[18] What this tomb had in strength it must have lacked in convenience, for the roof had to be removed for each successive burial, and it must have been difficult to insert the coffin in a manner which would make the funeral rites less than ludicrously awkward. Two of the tombs, S 185 and N 199, both of which stand on a fairly steep slope, have no doors because they were entered from below. S 185 is the better preserved, and Horn gives a good illustration of a reconstruction of it. It had a walled precinct entered at the top. Steps cut in the rock led down the slope. At the bottom two entrances gave access to a passage, off which another opened at right angles; this led to the interior of the two-compartment built tomb standing above, which is quite ordinary in every other way except that, like N 199, it has the double recessed panel in the top step, a feature seen above (p. 12) to be characteristic of the second half of the fourth century in the ancient city. The passage below, with its entrance in the north wall at either end, had a Doric entablature fronting on the precinct. Among other tombs without doors may be mentioned N 202, which has monolithic sides of great size. Its simple mouldings and massive construction give it a rather archaic appearance, but in fact it merely represents something less ornate than other contemporary monuments. Rowe found in it fragments of a fourth-century Attic Red Figure pelike.

---

[18] This monument is described by Rowe, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxxvi, 1954, p. 493 as '. . . a huge masonry tomb, shaped like an Egyptian mastaba (a rectangular structure with sides sloping towards a common centre and with flat top), dating from between the fifth and early fourth centuries B.C.' The 'sloping sides' are in fact rather weathered steps; the 'flat top' is missing, but was certainly a ridge roof; there is no detectable Egyptian influence of any kind; the material R. found includes a model black-glaze kantharos and krater, and an alabaster alabastron, all closely paralleled by finds made by Breccia at Sciatbi, near Alexandria, in tombs which do not antedate that city; finally, although this monument is large, there are some hundreds of others of like dimensions round Cyrene, and some considerably larger within sight of this very tomb.

Not all examples of this type of tomb have the compartments on the longer axis of the monument. E 82, for instance, has instead five compartments side by side; so that one of the long sides of the tomb consisted of five doors. This is an uneconomical design and is not common. Some two-compartment tombs, *e.g.* E 17, have only one door, and a small space before the two compartments gives access to each of them. This is rather more frequently found, though still rare; what it saves in door-construction it wastes in space inside the tomb.

N 57 represents a class of tomb not far removed from the preceding type (Pl. XIII, *a*). It is in general smaller, and single-compartment examples are much commoner than those with two. The steps are made in the same way, but the sides are made of slabs which reach their whole height. There are pilasters all along the sides of the same width as the corner ones, and the same width apart, different only in that they do not have capitals. They coincide with the regulae of the entablature (where these occur: entablatures on built tombs vary in degree of elaboration—the Zawani tombs being the most elaborate—but not in kind). The roofing arrangements are the same as in the preceding type, but no examples have a double thickness of blocks. Dating evidence is somewhat lacking, but this type seems to be simpler rather than later than the others. One of them abutted against the west side of the retaining wall protecting N 1, using it as a back-wall, and is therefore later than N 1. Some had no doors, as the example at Meghernes shows. That the type with walls built normally of courses was of a better class is shown by N 124; this is made of slabs, which have imitation courses cut in them to simulate actual masonry.

Built tombs often stand above rock-cut tombs, and though they do not connect with them they are placed centrally over them, so as to form an aesthetic whole. Thus N 57 stood directly over the rock-cut tomb beneath, N 58, though later its northern end was extended, and it is therefore now asymmetrically placed. E 191 is a remarkable tomb, in that the lower half, which is rock-cut, had no entablature to its masonry façade, which, instead, continued up as the outer wall of a built tomb whose entablature did duty for both. There is also a tomb, N 180, in which the bodies were laid in three rock-cut compartments shut by doors, but which had a masonry superstructure. Everything above the first course on top of the steps has disappeared, perhaps in the course of road-construction, but before this it was recorded by Pacho, and by Smith and Porcher (Pl. VII, *c*).[19] The upper surface of the rock-cut part slopes up to four small steps set back, above which a rectangular construction with pilasters at each corner was crowned with a

[19] Pacho, Plates XLV, XLVI; Smith & Porcher, frontispiece. Pacho's is much the more detailed illustration.

full Doric entablature. A carved leaf-pattern runs up inside the pilasters and under the entablature, a feature found on such rock-cut tombs as N 36. Above the entablature more steps perhaps supported a statue or stele. It thus bears a great resemblance to the built tombs already described, but here not only the steps but the rectangular structure itself serve no useful purpose. It may well be a replica on a small scale of the large tombs first considered.

N 87 is similar, but illustrates the common method of interment in this type. The space for the body is cut vertically into the natural rock and the structure placed on top of it. N 87 has no frieze, but fragments of other monuments of the same size are to be seen with frieze as well—at N 191, for instance. They sometimes cover two burial spaces, but usually only one.

The smallest of the built monuments are like lesser versions of the type just mentioned. Some have diminutive steps, a rectangular structure and more steps, while others consist of only three steps surmounted by a stele. These seem too small to cover a body and perhaps usually stood over a pot containing the ashes of the defunct, as did remarkably similar monuments at Sciatbi (Alexandria).[20] N 192, however, a rock-cut tomb, had a stele monument erected on the left of its façade with blocks cut from the floor of its forecourt, and this proved to have an interment underneath, together with material suggesting a date in the first century A.D.[21] This is unexpectedly late.

As with round tombs, so with rectangular, a wall may surround and protect a collection of burials inside. The outer walls of some, *e.g.* E 235, have mouldings; these are not early. S 284 not only has mouldings at top and bottom of the slabs enclosing the sarcophagi, but a series of pilasters of the kind found on the sides of N 57. Like their circular counterparts, these tombs are to be ascribed to the fourth and succeeding centuries B.C.

4. *Rock-cut Tombs*

The oldest of the rock-cut tombs are N 2–N 9 and some of those in the Wadi bel Ghadir. They are alike in being entirely rock-cut. N 2–N 9 all have porches, some with columns and some with pillars (Pls. V, *a*, XI). A single entrance leads from the porch to a chamber behind it which is roughly square in shape, and some have spaces for burials cut in the floor by the side and end walls; this was the usual arrangement. Some of these tombs were re-used later; N 5, for instance, has two loculi of Roman type with semicircular heads. The exterior of some has also been recut, as N 3 clearly shows, where the floor level of the porch has been lowered, leaving round each pillar an area that was not finished off. The purpose appears to have been to leave a rock-cut bench running round the walls of the porch. All these tombs have a somewhat rugged appearance; only one, N 8, has an entablature, and N 9 was not finished, the columns only being roughly shaped and some of the stone between the abaci never carved away. Several facts combine to testify to an early date. The columns are rather polygonal than fluted, and the flutes are not regular in number, though eighteen seems to be the number aimed at. It is clearly a matter of some difficulty to make a column with the desired number of flutes when it is wholly rock-cut and no section is ever available. The Doric capitals of N 7, with a bulging echinus and a channel underneath it (Pl. V, *a*), are undoubtedly archaic, and presumably prior to the Temple of Zeus (*c.* 510 B.C.), whose capitals have no channel and bulge much less. It is noticeable that the Doric tombs are tristyle, as was the opisthodomus of the Temple of Zeus. N 8 has a pediment carved out of the rock-face above, the mouldings of which have affinities with the sixth-century treasuries at Delphi, although being rock-cut they are much cruder. The door, too, is perhaps a simplified version of the type represented by that of the Siphnian Treasury. The capitals have the convex, not the normal concave, canalis and eyes in the centre of the volutes, which further indicates a sixth-century date (Pl. XI, *a*, *b*). The capitals of the pillars of N 2 and N 3, with volutes carved in shallow relief, are distinctly odd, but may be compared with proto-Ionic capitals (Pl. XI, *d*).

---

[20] E. Breccia, *La Necropoli di Sciatbi*, Cairo, 1912. See, *e.g.*, Tav. XVII, 18. The altar, if it is an altar, illustrated in Tav. XVIII, 19, has interesting affinities with built tombs at Cyrene. But these inconsiderable monuments cannot have influenced the architecture of the necropolis at Cyrene; any influence there was flowed rather in the other direction. Tav. XXXI, 34a shows that Cyreneans were buried at Sciatbi.

[21] Burton Brown, p. 148 ff.

Some of the tombs in the Wadi bel Ghadir require special mention. W 48 resembles N 8 in many ways, having the same kind of door and entablature (Pl. V, *b*). It is, however, tristyle, and although the two outer capitals are Ionic and of the same form as those of N 8, the central capital is unique. It is like a palm-leaf capital, but above the leaves the abacus is bounded on either side by flaps sloping inwards. It seems to be a *jeu d'esprit* on the part of the builder of the tomb.[22] Another tomb that has excited attention is W 18, which has pillars with Ionic capitals and a Doric frieze above. This tomb, too, appears to be archaic, although it has two triglyphs to each intercolumniation; it has a pediment, and acroteria like those of N 8, the capitals look archaic, and the regulae have only five guttae. Close to this tomb are W 15 and W 17, of which W 17 is undecorated, but W 15 has the volute pillar capital of N 3, and an archaic bead-and-reel and carved Doric leaf-moulding in its entablature.

There is a series of tombs in the Wadi bel Ghadir which are smaller than those with porches, but, it would seem, of comparable date in origin. The arrangements for burial are similar, spaces being cut by the sides and back. They are often cut also in the centre of the floor, so that no space is left unoccupied. They do not have porches, but merely façades varying much in degree of decoration, though all are more or less crudely executed. Some have only roughly rectangular doorways with a simple lintel. Others have more elaborate doorways and acroteria to the door-lintels, and the bigger tombs are further decorated with pilasters which have rudimentary Ionic capitals (Pl. VII, *b*). The volutes and cushion are never more than outlined, and merely stand out in relief from the shaft of the pilaster. Many of the doorways have evenly spaced holes bored on jambs and lintel. They presumably held metal decoration of some kind. An early date is suggested by the general crudeness of appearance and by the internal arrangements, both of which they have in common with the group of tombs first discussed, and by the character of some of the decoration, in that the volutes in some of the pilaster capitals spring clear of the shaft of the pilaster, and the acroteria of the lintels are archaic in appearance. But other factors suggest that this type of tomb had a long life. W 152 (Pl. VIII, *d*) is of the same kind, as its door and internal arrangements show. But it also has a carved niche above, with a recessed panel cut in its base, designed for a bust of head and shoulders only, a type of which the only known examples (*e.g.* Pl. VIII, *e*) are not prior to the fourth century. There is a series of very simple tombs of the same type in the north necropolis, N 385–N 397. N 385 has an inscription above it which may be assigned to the fourth century (Pl. X, *d*);[23] and N 394 has inscriptions above the door, the lettering of which is unmistakably late; A, for instance, appears with the angled crossbar.

---

[22] Weld-Blundell, pp. 132 ff. But the form of this capital does not seem to be due to a rock-fault, as Prof. Studniczka there suggests.

Later rock-cut tombs differ in many respects from those we have considered (Pls. VI, X, XII, *a*). Often the façades are composed entirely of masonry. A vertical surface was cut in the rock against which was built the façade, executed in finely dressed blocks, which were never attached to the rock-face or each other by cramps, mortar or any other means. Decorative features could be cut conveniently in the blocks before they were put in place. Most commonly, however, the lower part of the façade is of natural rock, and only the entablature is of masonry, which rested on a shelf cut back in the natural rock. The lower part had lines scored in it to simulate blocks and courses of masonry. A few tombs, like N 196, are entirely rock-cut but still have delicately moulded features; in general, however, the entirely rock-cut façades are less ambitious than the others, and belonged presumably to the tombs of the less wealthy. In these later rock-cut tombs there are two principal layouts which cannot be separated chronologically. Both employ the same system of tiers of shelves as the rectangular built tombs; in one, doors in the façade open directly into these compartments; in the other, the door in the façade opens into a rectangular room, off whose other three walls open the compartments. With very few exceptions these tombs have no pediment, but present what appears to the eye the side-view of a free-standing building. Roofing blocks run the entire breadth of the façade. Above and behind is a bench of more or less simple form, and behind it runs a balustrade. This may be as ornamental as the carved one above N 183 (Pl. VII, *d*), or may consist only of undecorated slabs; or it may be omitted altogether. Most of these tombs have a courtyard in front, left by the cutting back of the rock-face of the façade, and the sides are often built up with blocks of masonry and crowned with a coping.

The largest tombs of this type have a porch with columns in front. N 171 is a fine example. The profiles of the mouldings of its door and entablature are the same as those of the Treasury of Cyrene at Delphi, although the mouldings do not have carved decoration. The inscriptions and statues found among its ruins testify to a date probably late in the fourth century. The columns are Doric and fluted, but have bases consisting of a circular plinth and torus, and the columns have a flaring apophyge. This is not common in the ancient city, but does occur at least twice, in the portico running east of the Temple of Hecate,[24] and in the colonnade of the North-west Stoa. At each end the antae have attached columns, as do the two Greek fountains in the Sanctuary of Apollo, and the North-west Stoa. At each end of the frieze there was a half-length relief of the mourning goddess. There were three doors, each leading to a chamber off which opened the tomb-compartments. Enough of the entablature remains to restore with certainty the façade and roof. The ceiling of the porch was composed of coffered slabs.

---

[23] Robinson, No. 51.

[24] Oliverio, *Africa Italiana*, ii, 1929, p. 122, says '. . . un tempio di Ecate, che pare non sia proprio l'attuale, fu costruito insieme col portico dorico-ionico . . . nel 107 d.c., . . . Distrutti ed incendiati ambedue nel 117 dai Giudei, fu ricostruito solo il tempio . . .'. An examination of the structure of this portico shows that it in fact antedated the temple and ran considerably farther west. Its Greek date is attested by the recessed panels cut in the riser of its step and by the columns, which are fluted. Doric limestone columns were fluted in the Greek period; the forum, Augustan in date, has columns fluted except for the bottom part; and later buildings of the Imperial period have unfluted limestone columns with bases of the type already described. Even the Temple of Apollo, which was wrecked in the Jewish revolt, was rebuilt with unfluted columns. The rebuilt peristyle of the Temple of Zeus is an exception. But it may not have been badly damaged, and the enormous size of the blocks forbade replacing more than what had been destroyed. In contrast, Roman columns of marble are often fluted.

Most tombs had no colonnade, and ranged from the inconspicuous to the splendid. The biggest had a full entablature, which often extended along the side walls of the court as well, and terminated in pilasters. N 181 has twin pilasters, and as they are close together diglyphs are used instead of triglyphs in the frieze above them. Only one of the entablatures with frieze has carved mouldings, and it is on a small tomb, N 21. The tombs in which a row of doors leads directly to the compartments often have attached half-columns between each door and at either end. They nearly all have bases.

The doors of the later rock-cut tombs are of four main types. The most elaborate have a profile like that of the Treasury of Cyrene, though in common with nearly all the doors of rock-cut tombs the mouldings are uncarved. Others are of the same pattern as the inside of the doorway of the Strategeion; that is to say that beneath the lintel they have an ovolo, a cyma reversa, and regulae. The most common door is like that of the Tomb of Battus (*e. g.* N 183). A few façades with attached columns merely have plain entrances between them. In addition to these, the humbler tombs often have a plain opening for a doorway; and variations of the four main types are fairly frequent.

Other tombs have a façade with full entablature inside (Pl. XII, *b*). They are entered by a simple doorway, and the chamber inside has a decorated façade sometimes only on the wall facing the door and sometimes on the two side-walls as well. The paint on these entablatures is often well preserved. One tomb at least had painted metopes. It was presumably situated in the Haleg Stawat, but I have been unable to identify it. Vattier de Bourville cut the metopes out in 1848, and they are now in the Louvre. Rumpf cites them as examples of fourth-century art.[25] This date is further borne out by the entablatures of other interior façades, more especially by the moulding above the metope and the form of the pilaster capital, for which the Strategeion may be compared.

A full entablature with frieze of the Doric order is an invariable feature of tombs with façades which have engaged half-columns. But a great number have neither columns nor entablature. They have pilasters at both ends, either at the end of a short side-wall or, far more often, at the extremes of the façade. The pilaster varies in depth, and is sometimes as much as 15 cm. deep, and even has a Doric leaf moulding cut in the inside angle; but it is usually only about 3 cm. deep. The entablature may be as elaborate as that of N 1, but it is generally rather simpler, uncarved, and without the cyma reversa; but there are many gradations in complexity. N 197 was partially excavated by Rowe. Although the entablature has no frieze, it did have a soffit with mutules (without guttae), but no regulae. Faint traces of paint survive. The material found in it suggests a date near 300 B.C. There are inscriptions cut over the two right-hand doors of the tomb. That on the right, above the door leading to the excavated compartment, reads: ΔΡΑΚΩΝΠΟΣΕΙΔΙΠΠΩ/[Α]ΓΕΜΟΝΑΔΡΑΚΩΝΤΟΣ; and that above the next door: ΑΡΧΙΠΑΜΗΝΟΔωΡω.

---

[25] A. Rumpf, *JHS*, lxvii, 1947, p. 12. This dating appears to rest on the fact that the women's flesh is not shaded. This is borne out by Beechey's illustrations, some of which R. reproduces, but not by Pacho's (Plate LIV). It is difficult to tell from the photographs which of the two was correct.

Still simpler rock-cut tombs had neither entablature nor pilasters, and consisted merely of series of doors juxtaposed; the quality of the carving of the doorways varies, and in some tombs not all are even of the same height. It is safe to say that such tombs are in general later than the more ornate tombs with their severely formal decoration. Less attention was paid to the general appearance, and inscriptions are much less rare on the face of these than on the preceding tombs. Rowe excavated in N 13, which may be third-century in date. It has a round shield carved in relief over the door, a unique phenomenon (Pl. VIII, *a*). The tall thin pilasters serve to border the doorway as well as the narrow façade. The entablature has gone. This is an example of the later tombs where fancy is left free to make variations on the stricter rules of past generations. Some of the results of this relaxing of discipline can be seen in the crude façade of N 17, with its inconsequently placed rock-cut statues, and in N 228, which has figures carved on top of flattish engaged columns.

An unusual and perverse type of tomb is represented by N 369; it is of the same form as a rectangular built tomb, but is cut entirely out of the natural rock.

The Greek period, and particularly the fourth and third centuries, saw the necropolis grow to more or less the size which it now has. No doubt tombs were used for a long time, and generations of the same family would be buried in the same mausoleum. But tombs also fell into neglect, and would soon begin to go to ruin in the heavy winter rains, particularly on the steep slopes. N 236 gives an example of a tomb which was neglected but used again later in its dilapidated state (Pl. X, *a*, *b*). It had been cut, as is common enough, in a disused quarry. It had at least a door-lintel made of a separate block of stone, but this cannot have been in position when the inscription on the left of the door was cut, for it would have hidden it. The inscription, as the name Ποπελία shows, is Roman. Other inscriptions to the right record interments in the years soon after the start of the reformed Cyrenaic calendar, which dated from the Battle of Actium. There are many other signs of tombs being taken over in Roman times, and particularly of round-headed loculi being cut in old tombs or in the side-walls of their courtyards, as in N 196. S 347 has an arch built into its doorway. In front of S 14 there is an inscribed stele dated by its inscription to A.D. 101–2. N 173, originally Greek, contained, in addition to a typical Greek inscribed marble base, an inscription recording the veteran Ammonius and Roman paintings probably of the second century A.D.

In the Roman period a few new tombs were made, all rock-cut, of which N 415 and S 359 are examples. N 415 has no external decoration. It was cut at the bottom of a quarry which had fallen out of use (the original entrance to N 413 was cut away by this same quarry, and therefore preceded it), and consists of a large room in the walls of which were cut round-headed loculi some 2 metres wide. S 359 also has no façade, and is cut into what was once a quarry-face. The interior is spacious but crudely finished. The front of it is separated from the back by an arcade of three rock-cut arches supported on square bases. Loculi of the usual kind were cut in the side-walls. A large second-century sarcophagus of marble was found inside. It is now in the Museum, as yet unpublished. Other Roman tombs have mosaics on the floor (N 84) and painted decoration (N 241), but all are of the same basic type, a plain entrance leading into a more or less square room in the walls of which loculi are cut. N 83 has decorative shells cut in the roof of the loculi (Pl. VI, *a*). It also has a painted inscription recording the interment of Demetria and her son, Christians who were killed in an earthquake,[26] an inscription which has been assigned to the late fourth century. They seem to have been buried in the grave cut in the floor at the foot of the inscription. The tomb itself may be of the second century. The most splendid Roman tomb is W 107, which had a tetrastyle portico with marble columns and Ionic capitals. Both Pacho and de Bourville record finds here, and there are still remains of three marble sarcophagi to be seen inside, all of second-century date. Tomb-building, it seems, was revived somewhat in the second century, a time which saw much building and rebuilding in the ancient city, but in general the Cyreneans were content to take over and sometimes to modernise tombs constructed in the great days of building, the fourth and third centuries B.C. Built tombs could not be converted or enlarged easily, and for the most part escaped attention; it was to the rock-cut tombs therefore that they turned, and it is in these that we find most evidence of later activity.

JOHN CASSELS

CATALOGUE OF THE TOMBS

The following abbreviations are used throughout the catalogue: C = Circular built tombs; B = Rectangular built tombs; R = Rock-cut tombs. Circular built tombs (C) are further classified as follows:

I Large circular tombs with podium (pp. 12 f.)
II As I, but with no podium (pp. 11 f.)
III Crepidoma, ring-wall and interments inside (p. 13)
IV As III, but with no crepidoma (p. 13)
V Ring of unconnected slabs (pp. 13 f.)

Rectangular built tombs (B) are further classified as follows:

I Large monument with podium (p. 14)
II No podium, coursed sides (p. 16)
III As II, the sides made of slabs (p. 16)
IV Smaller tombs, burial in rock (pp. 16 f.)
V Stele monuments (p. 17)
VI Box with sarcophagi inside (p. 17)

followed, where applicable, by the number of compartments and the number of doors in that order.

Rock-cut tombs (R) are further classified as follows:

1. A with rock-cut porch
   B with chamber off which compartments open
   C with compartments having doors in the façade
   D with burial spaces cut in the floor of the chamber
   E Roman interior (p. 21; Pl. VI, *a*)

2. Number of doors

---

[26] Domenico Comparetti, *Annuario della R. Scuola Archeologica di Atene*, vol. i, 1914, pp. 161–7. C.'s text is established from a photograph taken by the Missione Halbherr, and requires revision.

3. Façade with:
    (a) columns
    (b) pillars
    (c) attached columns
    (d) attached pillars
    (e) pilasters at each end
    (f) no embellishments

4. Façade:
    i entirely rock-cut
    ii partly built, partly rock-cut
    iii entirely built

5. Entablature:
    α Doric frieze and carved mouldings
    β Doric frieze, no carving
    γ no frieze, but carved mouldings
    δ no frieze, uncarved
    ε exceptional
    ζ none

6. Doorway:
    I as on Tomb of Battus
    II as Treasury of Cyrene (Pl. XIII, *b*)
    III as inside of Strategeion
    IV otherwise decorated
    V quite plain

Thus N 2 (Tomb no. 2 in the North cemetery, for the location of which see fig. 3), figures as R A 1 (b) i ζ V, indicating a rock-cut tomb (R) with a rock-cut porch (A) and a single door (1), the pillared façade of which (b) is entirely rock-cut (i); it has no entablature (ζ) and the door is undecorated (V). N 14 (Tomb no. 14 in the North cemetery), which figures as B III 1, 1, is a large built rectangular tomb, lacking a podium and with sides built of slabs (III), with a single compartment and a single door.

Immediately after the classification of each tomb there follow references, first to the text and plates of the present article, and then to previous publications (for the abbreviations, see pp. 6–9). There follow any supplementary remarks that may seem necessary. The word 'niches' refers to façade-niches of the type described on p. 6. Where a tomb is now occupied by local families it is shown as 'inhabited'.

Fig. 2 gives a key to the detailed maps of the cemeteries. In the absence of a large-scale map of the area these maps were constructed mainly from air-photographs and by compass. The aim was to make them accurate enough for tombs to be identified on the ground with confidence.

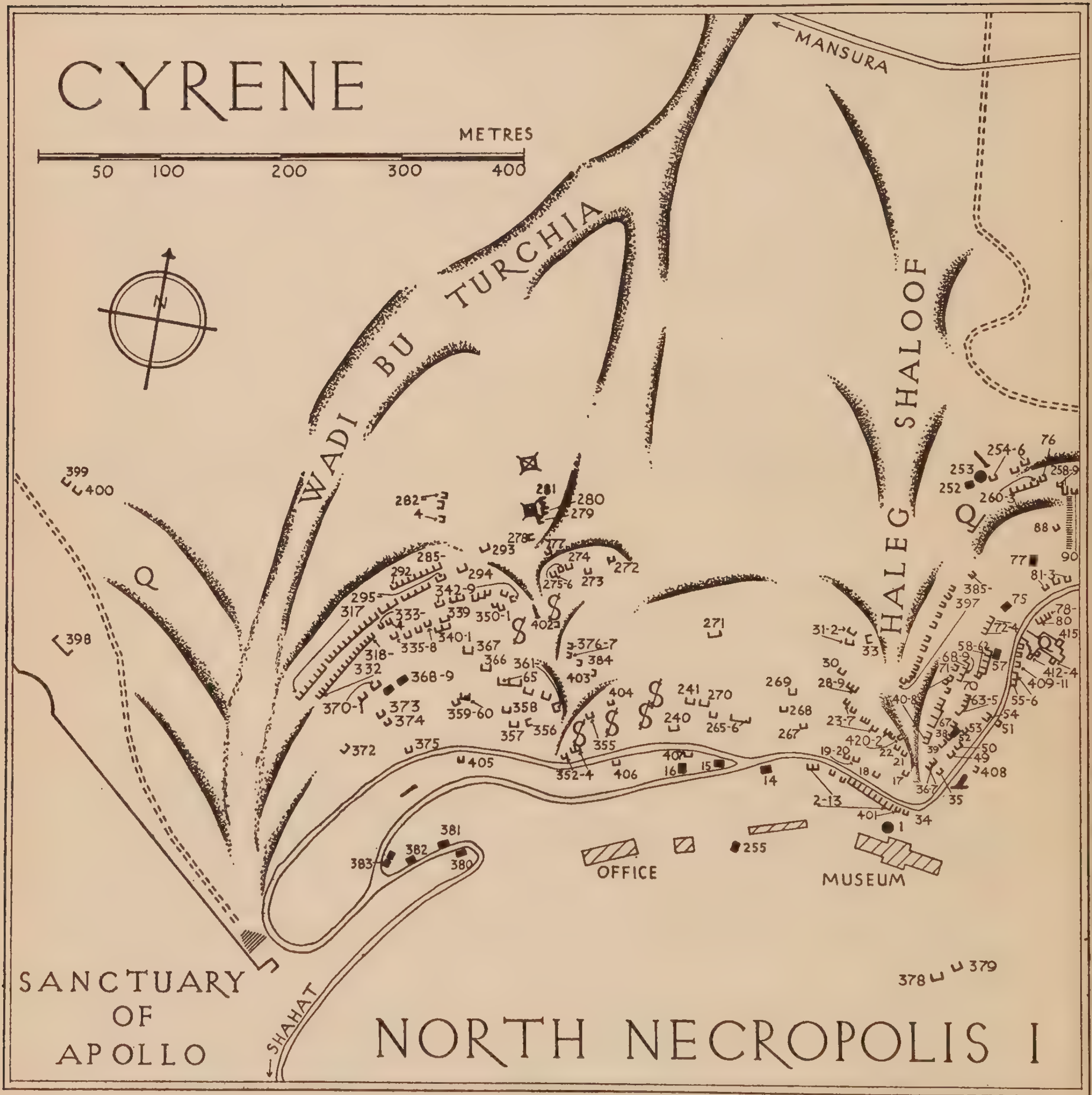


Fig. 3.—Cyrene: North Necropolis (Western Half).

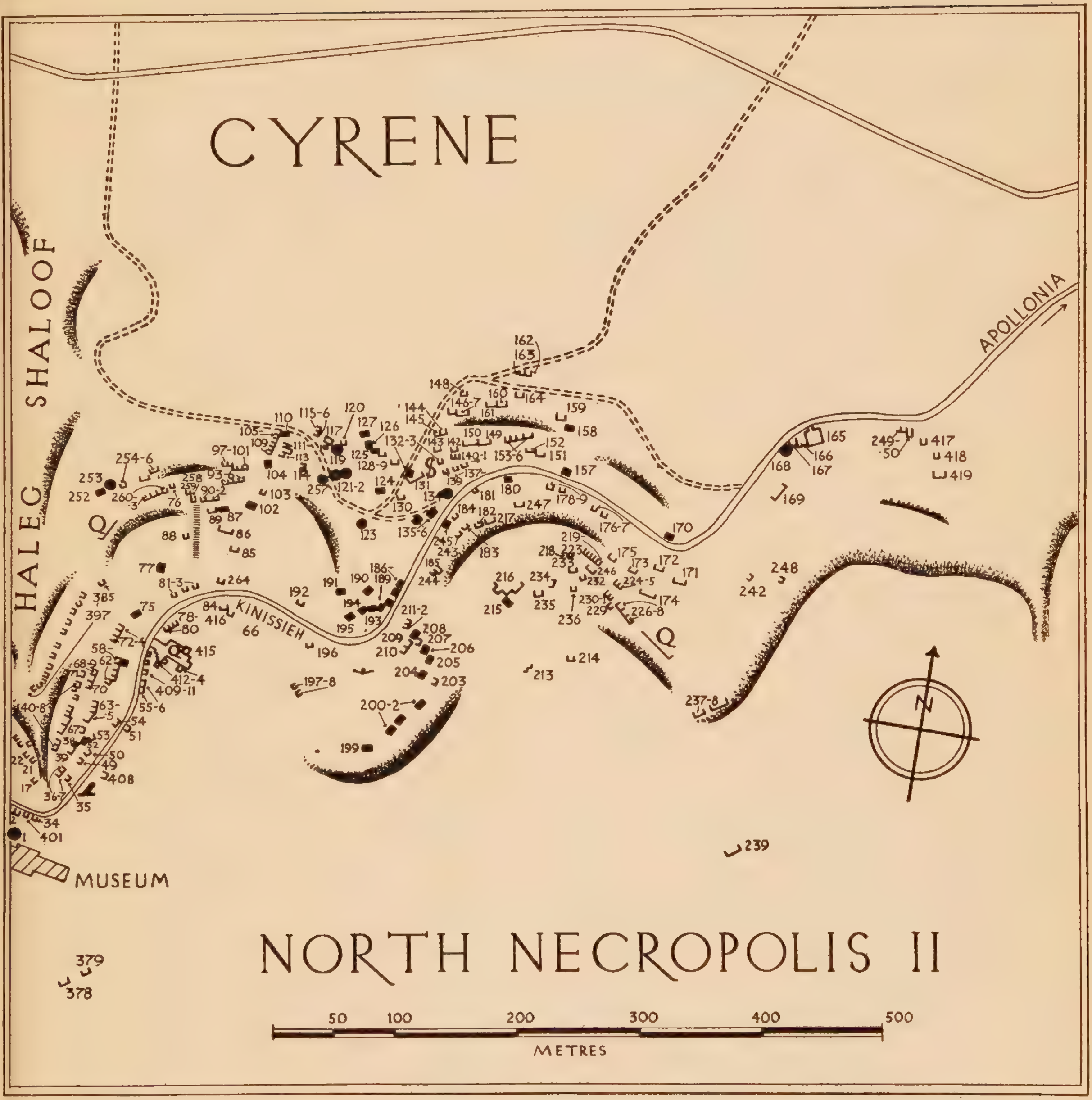


Fig. 4.—Cyrene: North Necropolis (Eastern Half).

North Necropolis

Maps, figs. 3, 4; Plates II, III. Pacho, pls. XXX, XXXVII, XLVIII; Smith & Porcher, pls. 13, 16, 59, frontispiece; Beechey, after pp. 424, 500; Maioletti, 1, fig. 1; 2, fig. 1.

N 1 C II; Pls. IV, VIII; pp. 3, 11–14, 16. Unique in that it encloses an unfinished B II 2, 2 tomb.
N 2 R A 1 (b) i 3 V; pp. 17, 18, 23. Tristyle, Ionic, re-cut with triclinium in porch; niches.
N 3 R A 1 (b) i 3 V; Pl. XI, *d*; p. 18. As N 2.
N 4 R A 1 (b) i 3 V. As N 2.
N 5 R A 1 (a) i 3 V; p. 17.
N 6 R A 1 (a) i 3 V.
N 7 R A 1 (a) i 3 V; Pl. V *a*; p. 18; Maioletti, 1, Tav. A, 2, fig. 7.
N 8 R A 1 (a) i ε IV; Pl. XI, *a*, *b*; pp. 17, 18. Maioletti, 1, Tav. D. Ionic.
N 9 R A 1 (a) i 3 V; Pl. XI, *c*; p. 17. Doric, unfinished.
N 10 R B 1 (e) ii – I.
N 11 R B 1 (e) ii – I.
N 12 R C 1 (e) ii – IV.
N 13 R C 1 (e) ii – IV; Pl. VIII, *a*; p. 21. Shield in low relief over the door; excavated by Rowe.
N 14 B III 1, 1; p. 23.
N 15 B. Only foundations left.
N 16 B II 2, 2.
N 17 R B 2 (e) i δ I; p. 21; Pacho, pl. LXXXVIII; Smith & Porcher, pls. 19, 33, p. 29.
N 18 R B 1 (e) ii – II. Ruinous; inhabited.
N 19 R – 1. Ruinous.
N 20 R – 1. Ruinous.
N 21 R C 2 (e) iii α II; p. 20.
N 22 R – 1. Very plain interior.
N 23 R – 2. Ruinous.
N 24 R C 4 (f) ii – I.
N 25 R C 3 (f) ii 2 I. Inscriptions over doors.
N 26 R. Ruinous; inhabited.
N 27 R C 5 (f) iii ε V.
N 28 R B 2 (f) ii – V.
N 29 R C 4 (f) ii β I. A fifth door on the left outlined but not made.
N 30 R B 1 – iii – –. Extra entrance now cut on left; façade now gone; inhabited.
N 31 R C 3 – ii – –. Originally 2 tombs; ΠΛΗΡΗC carved over rt.-hand door.
N 32 R C – – – – I. More than 6 doorways.
N 33 R B 1 (e) ii – I.
N 34 R B 1 – iii – –. Panelled balustrade above, of which the lower half survives cut in the natural rock.
N 35 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Panel for now illegible inscription left of the door.
N 36 R C 2 (e) ii γ III; p. 17; Pacho, pls. XXXIII, XXXIV. Deeply cut imitation courses; carved Doric leaf moulding beside pilasters and under entablature.
N 37 R D 1 – – – –.
N 38 R C 2 (e) ii δ I; Hamilton, frontispiece; Pacho, pls. XXX, XXXI. Side-walls of courtyard partly rock-cut, partly masonry.
N 39 R C 5 (e) ii ε I. Pacho, pls. XXX, XXXI. Near N 36; inhabited; niches.
N 40 R C 3 (e) ii δ III. Originally to have 4 doors; 2 on left made then 1 later on rt.; niches.
N 41 R C 4 (e) ii δ III. Imitation courses; niches.
N 42 R B 1 (e) ii δ III.
N 43 R C 4 (e) ii δ III.
N 44 R C 3 (e) ii – I. Imitation courses; niches.
N 45 R B 1 (e) ii δ III.
N 46 R B 1 – – – –. Niches; mostly buried.
N 47 R – 1 – – – –. Top half of panelled door rock-cut.
N 48 R – 1 – – – –. Buried.
N 49 R C 3 (e) ii γ III. Doric leaf carving beside pilasters and under architrave.
N 50 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. Very rough; rock-cut sarcophagi.
N 51 R C 1 (e) ii – III. Imitation courses.
N 52 B II 1, 1; Pacho, pl. XXXII. Plain doorway.
N 53 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. Two cavities on rt., shaped like stelae; interior square; nondescript.
N 54 R B 3 (e) iii β III. Only central entrance used; re-used in Roman times.
N 55 R C & B 3 (e) i δ II; Pacho, pl. XLVII (top). Another door added later; imitation masonry.
N 56 R B 2 (e) i δ V & I. Imitation courses; niches.
N 57 B III 1, 1; Pl. XIII, *a*; pp. 15, 16, 17; Pacho, pl. XXXVI. Maioletti, 2, fig. 4. Lengthened after it was first built.
N 58 R – 3 – iii – –; p. 16. Very rough.
N 59 R B & C 3 (d) iii – –. Very ruinous.

N 60 R C 1 (f) i – –. Bottom of built tomb above remains.
N 61 R C 2 (c) iii β –. Much has disappeared.
N 62 R B 1 – – – –. One very wide simple doorway; niches.
N 63 R C 3 (e) ii γ I. Imitation, deeply cut courses; courtyard walls built up with drafted masonry; niches; Doric leaf moulding beside pilasters.
N 64 R C 2 (e) ii γ I. Very like N 63.
N 65 R C 7 (c) iii β III; Pl. VI, *b*; p. 7; Pacho, pls. XXXII, XXXIV (wrongly).
N 66 R (so-called Kinissieh); Pl. X, *e*; Pacho, pl. LXI, Smith & Porcher, pl. 26, p. 33. A honeycomb of tombs.
N 67 R C 3 (e) iii γ II.
N 68 R C 2 (f) ii – I. Ruinous and half-buried.
N 69 R C 5 (e) ii – I.
N 70 R C 4 (f) iii – I.
N 71 R C 2 (f) ii – I. Very plain; nearly buried; imitation courses.
N 72 R B 1 (e) ii β II. Imitation courses.
N 73 R B 1 (e) ii – –. Niches.
N 74 R B 1 (e) ii – –. Niches.
N 75 B. Only base left.
N 76 R C 2 (f) ii ε I.
N 77 B II 1, 0.
N 78 R B 1 (e) ii – II. Niches.
N 79 R B 1 (e) ii – II.
N 80 R C 1 (e) ii – –.
N 81 R E 1. Re-used in Roman times.
N 82 R E 1. Re-used in Roman times.
N 83 R E 2 (f); Pl. VI, *a*; p. 21; Smith & Porcher, pls. 17, 31; Pacho, pls. LV, LXIII, 9, p. 207. Inscription of Demetria, late 4th century A.D.
N 84 R E 1; p. 21; Smith & Porcher, pl. 26; Pacho, pl. XXXIX (bottom). Used in Roman times, mosaics.
N 85 R C 3 (f).
N 86 R C 12 (e) ii – I. Smith & Porcher, pls. 20, 32.
N 87 B IV; p. 17; Smith & Porcher, pl. 15.
N 88 R. Buried.
N 89 R C 7 (e) ii ε I.
N 90 R B 1 – ii – –; Smith & Porcher, pl. 15.
N 91 R B 1 (e) ii – III; Smith & Porcher, pl. 15.
N 92 R B 1; Smith & Porcher, pl. 15.
N 93 R C 4 (e) ii ε I.
N 94 R C 3 (e) ii ε I.
N 95 R C 3 (e) ii ε I.
N 96 R C 3 (e) ii ε I.
N 97 R C 8 (e) ii ε I. Very much ruined, and buried.
N 98 R C 4 (f) – – I.
N 99 R C 4 (e) ii ε I.
N 100 R – 2.
N 101 R C 5 (e) ii ε I.
N 102 R. Imitation of 2-compartment built tomb.
N 103 R B 1. Roman type sarcophagus inside.
N 104 B. 3 compartments side by side.
N 105 R B 1 (e) ii – I.
N 106 R C 1 (e) ii – III.
N 107 R C 2 – ii 3 I.
N 108 R C 2 (e) ii ε I. Plain balustrade above.
N 109 R C 2 (e) ii ε I.
N 110 B.
N 111 R – 2. Buried.
N 112 R C 3 (e) ii ε I. Niches.
N 113 R C 3 (e) ii ε I.
N 114 R C 3 – iii.
N 115 R B 1 – iii. Mostly buried.
N 116 R B 2 (e) ii – II.
N 117 R – 3. Mostly buried.
N 118 R – 3. Mostly buried.
N 119 C III.
N 120 R C 3 (e) ii – I.
N 121 C V. Stands on 3 courses; 3 or 4 sarcophagi inside.
N 122 C III.
N 123 C III.
N 124 B III 1, 0; p. 16. Imitation courses cut in the slabs.
N 125 B III 1, 1.
N 126 B III, 1, 1.
N 127 B II 2, 2.
N 128 R B 1 (e) ii β II.
N 129 R B 1 (e) ii ε ?III.
N 130 R C 2 (f) ii ε III. Added plain door on the left.
N 131 R B 1 – iii. Smith & Porcher, pls. 24, 35. Inhabited; façade gone.
N 132 B. Very plain; abuts against another built tomb at rt. angles.
N 133 R C 3 (e) ii ε II. Imitation courses.
N 134 C IV. Very rough.
N 135 B.
N 136 B II 1, 1.
N 137 R C & B 4 – – – –.
N 138 R C & B 3. Balustrade above.
N 139 R B 1 (e) iii – –.
N 140 R C 2 (e) ii ε I. Balustrade.
N 141 R C 5 (f) ii – I.
N 142 R B 1 (f) i – I. Has a pediment.
N 143 R C 4 (f) ii – I.
N 144 R B 1.
N 145 Really consists of 2 sarcophagi.
N 146 R C 5 (f) ii ε –. Door-lintel combined with entablature.
N 147 R C 7 (e) ii – I.

N 148 R B 1 (e) iii e II. Entablature of type common in Aetolia.
N 149 R C 1. Inhabited, niches.
N 150 R B 8 (e) ii γ I. 7 of the doors are false.
N 151 R C 4 (e) ii β II.
N 152 R C 6 (e) ii – I.
N 153 R C 5 (f) i 3 I.
N 154 R C 3.
N 155 R C 3 – ii.
N 156 R C 4 (e) ii 3 I.
N 157 B.
N 158 B.
N 159 R. Inhabited; quite plain.
N 160 R C 6 (f) ii.
N 161 R C 3.
N 162 R C 4.
N 163 R C 2.
N 164 R C 3 (f) ii ε III.
N 165 R B 1. Smith & Porcher, pl. 14.
N 166 R C 3.
N 167 R. More or less buried.
N 168 B IV.
N 169 R C 12. More than half buried; niches.
N 170 B. Only base.
N 171 R B 3 (a) iii β II; pp. 3, 10 fn. 13, 19; Maioletti, 2, fig. 9. Tomb of the Mnasarchi; *SEG* ix 227–32.
N 172 R B 1 (e) ii – –.
N 173 R B 1 (e) iii β –; p. 21; Horn, Abb. 30. Tomb of the Veteran; Roman paintings inside.
N 174 R. Once a large and ornate tomb with a full Doric entablature.
N 175 R C 1 (e) ii β III. Niches.
N 176 R – 1.
N 177 R – 1.
N 178 R C 4 (c) iii β III; Smith & Porcher, pl. 25; Pacho, pls. XL, XLI.
N 179 R C 4 (c) iii β III. = N 178, now stripped of its façade.
N 180 B IV; Pl. VII, *c*; pp. 7, 16; Pacho, pls. XLV, XLVI; Smith & Porcher, frontispiece.
N 181 R B 1 (b) ii β II; p. 20. Imitation courses; 'diglyphs' over end pilasters; niches.
N 182 R B 1. Ruined and inhabited.
N 183 R C 6 (e) ii γ I; Pl. VII, *d*; p. 19. Well preserved balustrade above.
N 184 R C 3 (c) iii β –.
N 185 R B 1 (f) ii – IV. Doorway of rock-cut arch with space for missing keystone.
N 186 B. Base.
N 187 B. Base.
N 188 B. Base.
N 189 B. Base.
N 190 B. Base.
N 191 B. Base, p. 17.
N 192 R B 1 (e) ii δ; p. 17; Burton Brown, p. 149. Stele in front of façade.
N 193 B.
N 194 B.
N 195 B.
N 196 R C 5 (e) ii β II; pp. 3, 19, 21; Pacho, pls. XXXV, XXXVI.
N 197 R C 3 (e) ii δ; p. 20. Inscriptions; excavated by Rowe.
N 198 R C 6 (e) ii γ I.
N 199 B II 2, 0; pp. 15 f. With porch below. = S 185.
N 200 B.
N 201 B III 1, 1.
N 202 B III 2, 0; p. 16; Maioletti 2, fig. 3. Excavated by Rowe.
N 203 R C 2 (e) ii γ I.
N 204 B III 2, 2.
N 205 B III 2.
N 206 B III 2, 0. Excavated by Rowe.
N 207 R C 4 (e) ii – III.
N 208 B III 1, 0.
N 209 R C 5 (f) i 3 I.
N 210 R C 5 (f) i 3 I. Deeply buried.
N 211 R C 2 (e) ii – I.
N 212 R B 1 (e) iii – II.
N 213 R; p. 6. On rt. 1 door leads to chamber off which 6 compartments open; inscriptions; niches; straight ahead door leads to plain room with inscription.
N 214 R C 4. Nearly buried.
N 215 B.
N 216 R C 6 (f) i 3 I.
N 217 R C 5. Mostly buried.
N 218 R. Jumble of entrances.
N 219 R C 2 (f) i 3 I.
N 220 R C 1.
N 221 R C 3. Half-buried.
N 222 R C 3 (e) ii – IV.
N 223 R C 3 (f) i 3 I. Buried.
N 224 R C 4 (f) ii ε V. Has a pediment; inscription over left doorway.
N 225 R B & C 2 (f) i ε I. Inscription.
N 226 R B 1 (e) ii – II. Smith & Porcher, pl. 22. Re-used in Roman times.
N 227 R C 2 (f) ii β I.
N 228 R C 4 (c) i β IV; p. 21. Carved figures on slim attached half-columns.
N 229 R 4; Pl. XII, *a*. Maioletti, i, fig. 4. Inhabited.
N 230 R B 1 (e) ii – I. Inhabited.
N 231 R B 1 (e) iii – I.
N 232 R C 2 (e) ii – I.
N 233 R C 3 (e) ii δ I.
N 234 R B 1 – – – I. Inscription.
N 235 R C 5 (f) i 3 I; p. 17. Buried.

N 236 R B 1; Pl. X, *a*, *b*; pp. 10 fn, 14, 21. Inscriptions later than original tomb.
N 237 R. Buried.
N 238 R B 3. Very large tomb, now in ruins; the middle door is false.
N 239 R C 8 (f) iii 3 I.
N 240 R B & C 3 (e) ii ε I. Niches.
N 241 R E 1 (f); pp. 10, 21; Pacho, pls. XXXIX (top), LI, p. 208.
N 242 R – 1.
N 243 R B 2 (d) iii – –.
N 244 R C 2 (e) ii – I. Niches.
N 245 B IV.
N 246 R C. Long series of at least 15 type I doorways.
N 247 R. On left 4 doors; on rt. C 2 (e) ii ε II.
N 248 R – 2. Inhabited.
N 249 R C 3 (c) iii – III. Half-buried.
N 250 R B 1 – iii – –.
N 251 B II 6, 6.
N 252 B VI.
N 253 C III; p. 13.
N 254 R C 1 (f) ii ε I.
N 255 R – – – ii – II. Partially buried; ruinous.
N 256 R B 1 – ii – –. Internal façade.
N 257 B VI.
N 258 R B 1 (f) ii ε I. Bizarre balustrade above.
N 259 R C 2 (e) ii ε I.
N 260 R C 3 (e) ii ε I.
N 261 R C 3 (e) ii ε I.
N 262 R C 3 (e) ii ε I.
N 263 R C 4 (e) ii ε I.
N 264 R C 3 (f) i – I. Half-buried; niches.
N 265 R – 1. Inhabited; niches.
N 266 R C 6 (c) iii β V.
N 267 R B 1 (e) iii β II. Inhabited and ruinous.
N 268 R – 1. Plain, inhabited.
N 269 R – 3 – iii. Inhabited.
N 270 R. Inhabited.
N 271 R – 3. Inhabited.
N 272 R C 4 (f) ii – I.
N 273 R B 1. Re-used in Roman times.
N 274 R – 1 – – – I. On left a plain entrance, with ΠΛΗΡΗϹ over it.
N 275 R C 3 (f) ii – I.
N 276 R B 1. Inhabited.
N 277 R B 1 (f) i – I.
N 278 R – 1. Buried; niches.
N 279 R C 4 – iii. Buried and overgrown.
N 280 R C 4 (f) ii – I.
N 281 R B 1 (e) ii – III. Niches.
N 282 R B 2 (e) ii ε I.
N 283 R C 6 (e) ii – III.
N 284 R B 1 (f) ii – –; p. 17.
N 285 R – 2. Ruinous.
N 286 R C 4 (c) ii β I.
N 287 R C 4 (e) ii – I.
N 288 R C 4 (e) ii – I.
N 289 R C 4 (e) ii – I.
N 290 R C 4 (e) ii – I.
N 291 R C 2 (e) ii – I.
N 292 R C 3 (e) ii – I.
N 293 R C 3 – ii – I. Nearly buried.
N 294 R C 4 (f) ii – I.
N 295 R C 5 (f) ii – I. Inscriptions.
N 296 R – 3.
N 297 R B & C 2 (e) ii ε –.
N 298 R. Buried.
N 299 R C 4 (e)
N 300 R C 4 (e)
N 301 R C 4 (e) ii – I.
N 302 R C 4 (e) ii ε I.
N 303 R C 2 (e) ii ε I.
N 304 R C 2 (e) ii ε I.
N 305 R C 6 (e) ii ε I.
N 306 R C 5 – – – –.
N 307 R C 3 – – – –.
N 308 R C 3 (e) i γ I.
N 309 R C 2 (e) i ε I.
N 310 R C 2 (e) i ε I.
N 311 R C 1 (e) i ε I.
N 312 R C 2 (e) ii ε I.
N 313 R C 5 (e) ii γ I.
N 314 R C 4 (e) ii – I.
N 315 R B & C 2. Nondescript.
N 316 R C 4 (c) iii β II.
N 317 R C 4 (e) ii – III.
N 318 R C 3 (e) ii – I.
N 319 R B 1 (e) ii ε I.
N 320 R B 1 (e) ii ε I.
N 321 R C 2 (e) ii – I.
N 322 R C 4 (f) ii – –.
N 323 R – 1. Inscription above.
N 324 R. 2 tombs side by side, inhabited; the left originally C 2 (e) ii – I.
N 325 R – 2.
N 326 R – 2.
N 327 R – 3. Niches; I-type door in centre.
N 328 R C 1 – – – I.
N 329 R B 1 (e) ii – I. Imitation courses.
N 330 R C 2 (e) ii – I.
N 331 R B 1 (e) ii ε I.
N 332 R C 3 (e) ii γ I.
N 333 R C 3.
N 334 R B 1 (e) ii – –.
N 335 R B 1.
N 336 R B 1. With pediment.
N 337 R B 1. Nondescript.
N 338 R B 1. On left, entrance with pedimental shape above; niches.
N 339 R – 1.

N 340 R – 1.
N 341 R C 6.
N 342 R – 2.
N 343 R B 1.
N 344 R C 4 (f) ii – I.
N 345 R – 1. Niches.
N 346 R C 5 (f) ii – I.
N 347 R C 2 – iii – –.
N 348 R B 2 (e) ii – I. Imitation courses; niches.
N 349 R C 3 (e) ii – I. Niches.
N 350 R C 3 (f) ii – I.
N 351 R C 3 (f) ii – I.
N 352 R B 1 (e) ii – –. Imitation courses; niches.
N 353 R B 1 (f) i – I. Imitation courses.
N 354 R – 1. Inscription.
N 355 R C 3 (e) ii ε I. Inhabited; on rt. a III-type door.
N 356 R B 1 – iii. Inscription.
N 357 R B 1 (e) ii β II. 'Diglyphs'; niches.
N 358 R C 1 (e) ii – II. On left; facing left, Roman interior; on rt., 1 B (f) ii – III; niches.
N 359 R – 2 – – – III. Inhabited.
N 360 R – 1. On the left, tomb of built type, but entirely rock-cut.
N 361 R C 4 (f) i – I.
N 362 R – 1. Inhabited.
N 363 R C 1 (*f*) ii – I. Niches.
N 364 R. Collection of rock-cut tombs with wide doorways = N 365.
N 365 R. 2 wide entrances, side by side, each with pediment; niches.
N 366 R C 3.
N 367 R C 4 on rt., R C 4 (e) ii – I on left.
N 368 R. Rock-cut imitation of 2-compartment B II tomb.
N 369 R = N 368; p. 21.
N 370 R E 1 (e) ii – I. Narrow imitation courses. Re-used in Roman times.
N 371 R C 3 (e) ii – I.
N 372 R B 1 (e) ii β II.
N 373 R B 1 (e) ii β II. Inhabited.
N 374 R C 4 (f) i – I.
N 375 R B 1 (e) ii β II.
N 376 R C 8 (f) – – I.
N 377 R C 4 (f) – – I. 3 I-type doorways and 1 plain; another on rt.-hand wall.
N 378 R C 7 (f) iii – I.
N 379 R C 5 (f) iii – I.
N 380 B V.
N 381 B V.
N 382 B V; Maioletti, 2, fig. 2.
N 383 B V; p. 3. A collection of 8 stelae.
N 384 R. A collection of I-type doorways loosely arranged; re-used in Roman times; inscriptions.
N 385 R D 1 (f) i 3 IV; Pl. X, *d*; p. 19. Tomb of Eurypylides.
N 386 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
N 387 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
N 388 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
N 389 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Large niche over door.
N 390 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
N 391 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
N 392 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
N 393 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
N 394 R D 1 (f) i 3 V; p. 19. Inscription.
N 395 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
N 396 R D 1 (f) i 3 IV.
N 397 R – 1.
N 398 R. Smith & Porcher, pl. 27. Pacho's tomb of residence; provenience of sarcophagus illustrated by his pl. LVIII.
N 399 R – 1.
N 400 R D 1. Roman.
N 401 R B 1 (e) iii – II.
N 402 R B 1 – – – I.
N 403 R – 2. Rough.
N 404 R – 1. Inhabited.
N 405 R A 1 (b) i – V.
N 406 R D 2 (f) i – I.
N 407 R D 1 (f) i – V. Pediment above in light relief.
N 408 R B 1 (f) i – II. Very ruinous.
N 409 R B 1 (f) i – I. Niches.
N 410 R B 1 (f) i – V. Niches.
N 411 R B 1 (f) i – V.
N 412 R – 1 (f) i – V. Made before quarry.
N 413 R B 1 (f) i – V; p. 21. Made before quarry.
N 414 R – 1. Made after quarry.
N 415 R E 1 (f) – – V; p. 21.
N 416 R B 1 (b) i – V.
N 417 R E 1.
N 418 R B 1. Mostly buried.
N 419 R. Inhabited; miscellaneous collection of entrances.
N 420 R B 1 (f) i – –. Niches.
N 421 R B 1 (f) i – –.
N 422 R B 1 (f). Niches; ΠΛΗΡ/ΗC carved on it.

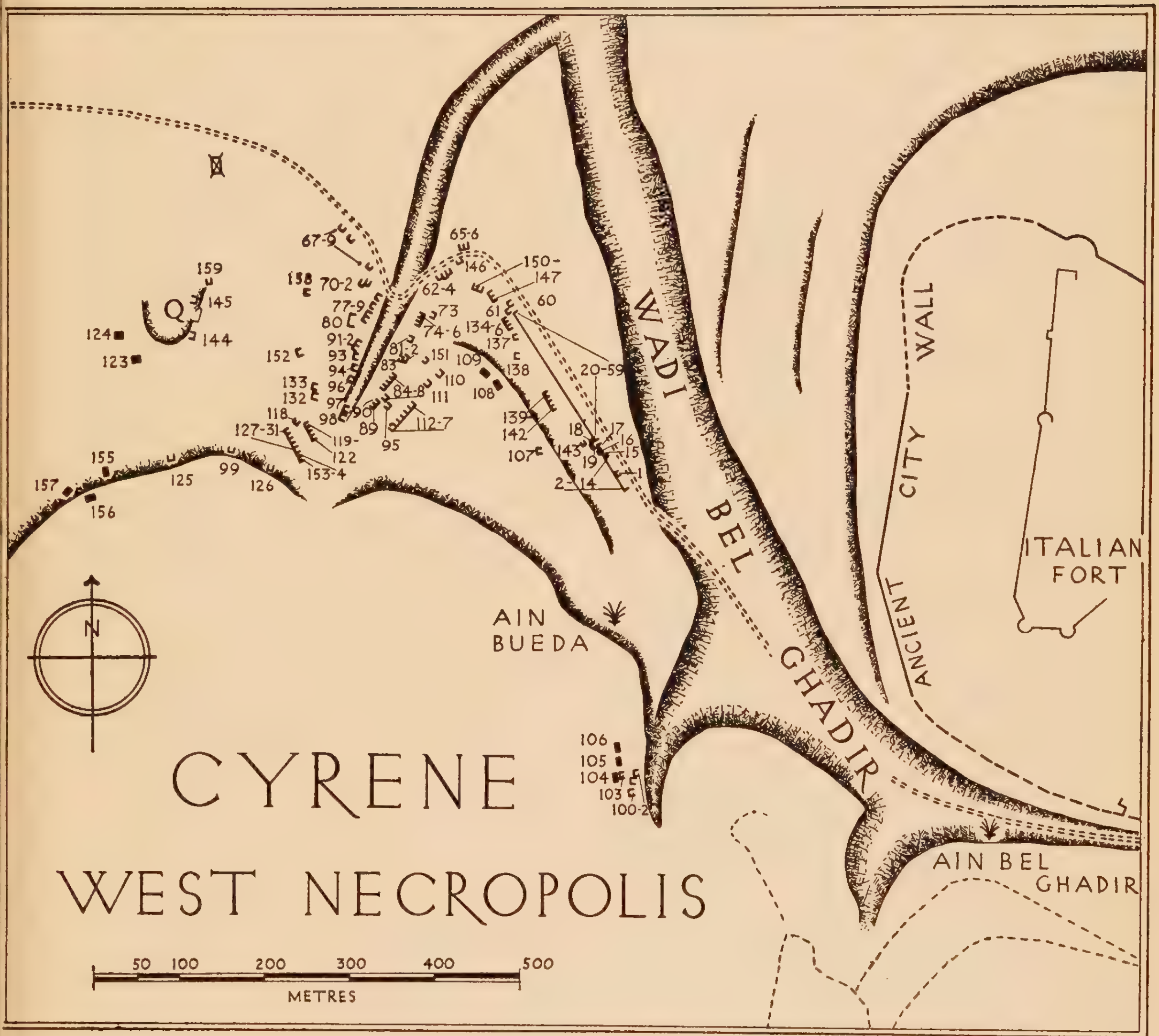


Fig. 5.—Cyrene: West Necropolis.

West Necropolis

(Map, fig. 5: Pacho, pl. XLII; Smith & Porcher, pl. 18; Maioletti, 2, fig. 6; 3, fig. 1)

W 1 R C 3 (f) i – 1.
W 2 R D 1 (f) i 3 IV. Niches.
W 3 R D 1 (f) i 3 IV.
W 4 R D 1 (d) i 3 IV. Ionic; niches; re-cut interior.
W 5 R D 1 (f) i ε IV. Niches.
W 6 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Niches.
W 7 R D 1 (c) i 3 IV; Maioletti, 1, Tav. B (left bottom). Unfinished.
W 8 R D 2 (d) i 3 IV. Niches.
W 9 R D 1 (f) i 3 IV. Niches.
W 10 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Niches.
W 11 R D 1 (f) i 3 IV. Niches.
W 12 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Niches; unfinished interior.
W 13 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Niches.
W 14 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Re-cut interior.
W 15 R A 1 (b) i ε V; p. 15; Maioletti, 2, fig. 5. Niches; interior D-type; Ionic capitals.
W 16 R B 1 (f) i – I; Pl. XII, *b*; p. 6; Smith & Porcher, pl. 37 (inaccurate). Much cut about; painted interior façade; inscriptions.
W 17 R A 1 (b) i 3 V; p. 18. Very overgrown.
W 18 R A 1 (b) i ε IV; p. 18; Pacho, pl. XLIII; Beechey, pp. 450–1. Ionic capitals, Doric entablature.
W 19 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. D-type inmost chambers.
W 20 R B 1 (f) i 3 I; Pacho, pls. XLIII, XLIV. Much paint remains on interior façade.
W 21 R D 1 (e) i ε IV; Maioletti, 1, Tav. A (rt. bottom); Pacho, pl. XLIII. Niches, pediment.
W 22 R D 3 (d) i 3 IV. Niche clearly for bust.
W 23 R D 1 (e) i 3 V.
W 24 R D 1 (e) i 3 IV.
W 25 R B 1 (d) i 3 IV; Maioletti, 1, Tav. B (rt. bottom). D-type inner chamber.
W 26 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 27 R D 1 (d) i 3 IV; Maioletti, 1, fig. 2. Ionic.
W 28 R D 2 (d) i 3 IV; Pl. VII, *b*; Maioletti, 1, fig. 2; Pacho, pl. XLII; Smith & Porcher, pl. 18.
W 29 R D 1 (d) i 3 IV. Ionic; rt.-hand pilaster cut away.
W 30 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Unfinished.
W 31 R D 1 (d) i 3 IV; Maioletti, 1, Tav. B (top). Square niche over door; re-cut interior.
W 32 R B 1 (f) i 3 IV. 2 D-type inner chambers.
W 33 R A 1 (b) i ε V. D-type chamber; pediment; square niche.
W 34 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. Re-cut in Roman times.
W 35 R B 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 36 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. D-type inner chamber.
W 37 R A 2 (b) i 3 V. D-type interior.
W 38 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. D-type inner chamber.
W 39 R B 1 (f) i 3 IV. Pedimental decoration over door.
W 40 R B 1 (f) i 3 IV. I-type doors inside.
W 41 R A 1 (b) i 3 V. Re-cut in Roman times.
W 42 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 43 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 44 R A 3 (b) i 3 V. D-type interior; Ionic.
W 45 R B 2 (f) i 3 V.
W 46 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 47 R A 2. D-type interior.
W 48 R A 1 (a) i ε IV; Pl. V, *b*; p. 18; Maioletti, 1, Tav. E; 2, fig. 8; Pacho, pl. XLVII (bottom); Smith & Porcher, pl. 38, pp. 28–9. Niches; 3 columns; Ionic.
W 49 R A 1 (b) i 3 V. Niches.
W 50 R B 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 51 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. D-type inner chamber.
W 52 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. Re-used in Roman times.
W 53 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Re-used in Roman times.
W 54 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Re-used in Roman times.
W 55 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Later alterations.
W 56 R – 2. Nondescript.
W 57 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 58 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 59 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 60 R B 2 (f) iii – –. Ruined.
W 61 R C 4 (f) ii – I.
W 62 R B 1 (–) iii – –.
W 63 R B 1 (f) ii – I. Imitation courses.
W 64 R D 1 (f) i 3 IV.
W 65 R?C?5. Buried.
W 66 R B 1 (–) – – –.
W 67 R C 4. Half-buried.
W 68 R B 1 (e) iii – –. Ruinous.
W 69 R C 4 (–) iii – –. Once had elaborate built façade.
W 70 R D 1 (–) i 3 IV. Re-cut.
W 71 R C 5. Buried.
W 72 R B 1. Buried.
W 73 R – 1. With pediment.
W 74 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. D-type inner chamber.

W 75 R B 1 (f) i 3 IV.
W 76 R B 1 (f) i 3 IV. D-type inner chamber.
W 77 R – 2.
W 78 R – 2.
W 79 R – 3.
W 80 R B 6 (c) ii – V. Doric frieze: 6 intercolumniations but only 2 openings.
W 81 R B 1 (f) ii – I.
W 82 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. Niches.
W 83 B III 2, 2. Lower half rock-cut.
W 84 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 85 R B 1 (f) i 3 V. Inscription.
W 86 R – 1 (f) i 3 IV.
W 87 R B 1 (f) i 3 IV.
W 88 R B 1.
W 89 R – 1. Buried.
W 90 R – 1. Buried.
W 91 R – 1. Ruined.
W 92 R – 1. Ruined.
W 93 R B 1 (f) i 3 IV.
W 94 R B 1 (–) i – –. Ruined.
W 95 R – – (e) ii – I. 2, mostly buried.
W 96 R.
W 97 R B – (f) i – –; p. 7. Buried up to internal painted frieze; original door gone.
W 98 R B – (f) i – –; p. 7. Buried up to internal painted frieze; original door gone.
W 99 R – 1. Buried.
W 100 R C 5 (c) iii β V.
W 101 R B 2 (–) iii – –. Buried.
W 102 R – 4.
W 103 R B 3 (–) iii – –. Made after W 104.
W 104 B II 2, 2.
W 105 B II.
W 106 B II.
W 107 R A 1 (a) iii – –; p. 22; Pacho, pls. LVI, LVII, p. 201; de Bourville, p. 581. Had Ionic columns, and porch; Roman.
W 108 B II 2, 2.
W 109 B II 2, 2.
W 110 R B 1 – ii.
W 111 R B 1 (c) ii β II. Niches; imitation courses.
W 112 R C 2 (e) ii δ I. Niches with stele-like carving inside above.
W 113 R C 2 (e) ii δ I. As W 112.
W 114 R C 3 (e) ii γ III.
W 115 R B 2 (e) ii γ III. Doric leaf moulding beside pilasters and under architrave. As N 36.
W 116 R C 5 (e) ii γ I.
W 117 R B 1 (e) ii δ I. Niches; imitation courses.
W 118 R C 6 (e) ii – III. Half-buried and ruinous.
W 119 R C 2 (f) ii – I.
W 120 R.
W 121 R.
W 122 R.
W 123 B III 1, 1.
W 124 B III 1, 1.
W 125 R B 1 (–) iii – –.
W 126 R B 1 (e) iii β III.
W 127 R C 3 (–) iii.
W 128 R C 4 (e) ii γ I. Imitation courses.
W 129 R – 3. Buried.
W 130 R C 4 (e) ii γ II.
W 131 R. Buried.
W 132 R C 5 (f) ii – I. Inscription.
W 133 R C 3 (e) ii – I.
W 134 R D 1 (f) i 3 IV.
W 135 R D 2 (f) i 3 IV.
W 136 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. Other plain tombs beside this.
W 137 R D 1 (f) i 3 V. V Π E cut over the door.
W 138 R B 1 (f) ii – II. Niches.
W 139 R C 2 (b) ii – I. Half-buried.
W 140 R – 3. Buried.
W 141 R B 1.
W 142 R C 3 (f) i 3 I.
W 143 R 1 – (–) i 3 IV. False door; real door is on the side.
W 144 R C 4 (e) ii ε I.
W 145 R. 12 doorways, 11 of them type I, 1 is type II.
W 146 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
W 147 R B 1 (–) iii – –. Niches.
W 148 R B 1 (e) iii – –. Niches.
W 149 R B 1 (e) iii – –. Carved panel left of door; inscription, if there was any, now gone.
W 150 R C 3 (f) i 3 I.
W 151 R D 1 (f) i 3 IV.
W 152 R D 1 (f) i 3 IV. Pl. VIII, *d*; pp. 18 f. Niche for bust above with recessed panel carved in its base.
W 153 R C 4. Nearly buried.
W 154 R C 7 (e) ii – I.
W 155 B II 2, 2.
W 156 B VI. Large and uncouth.
W 157 B VI.
W 158 R – I.
W 159 R C 5 (f) ii – I. Buried.

South Necropolis

(Map, Plate I; also Plates III, VII)

S 1 B. A large construction of uncertain purpose; a large marble base, split, carved . . . ΛΩΝ/ . . . ΜΙΟΣ.
S 2 B; p. 14. A small version of the Hellenistic tomb at Tolmeta.
S 3 R.
S 4 R A; p. 3. A very large and impressive tomb, which has now fallen into ruins; two inscribed marble bases in it; de Bourville, p. 584, shows ΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΣ family inscription belongs here.
S 5 R. Buried; niches.
S 6 R – – (–) iii – –.
S 7 R C 7 (–) iii – –.
S 8 R C 6 (–) iii. Buried; there may be more than 6 doorways.
S 9 R B 1 – iii. Buried.
S 10 R. Buried.
S 11 R C 5 (–) iii. Roman tombs cut in side-wall.
S 12 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
S 13 R C 5 (–) iii. Buried; there may be more than 5 entrances.
S 14 R C 7 (f) iii – –; p. 21. Inscribed marble stele of A.D. 101–2.
S 15 R. Buried; niches.
S 16 R C 5 (f) iii – –.
S 17 B II 2, 2.
S 18 B II 2, 2. Marble bust just to east.
S 19 B II 2, 2.
S 20 R – – (–) iii. Overgrown and flooded.
S 21 B II 1, 1.
S 22 R C 4 (–) iii – –. Buried.
S 23 B II 2, 2.
S 24 B II 1, 1.
S 25 B II, 2, 2.
S 26 B II 2, 2.
S 27 B II 2, 2.
S 28 B II 2, 2.
S 29 B II 2, 2. Near N.E. corner, a marble bust.
S 30 C III.
S 31 B II 1, ?0.
S 32 B II 1, 1.
S 33 C III. To S.E. lies marble bust of fair size.
S 34 B II 2, 2.
S 35 C. Amorphous heap.
S 36 B II 2, 2.
S 37 B III 1, 0.
S 38 B II 2, 2.
S 39 B II 2, 2.
S 40 B. Not sufficient left to identify certainly.
S 41 B II 2, 2.
S 42 B II 2, 2.
S 43 B II 2, 2.
S 44 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
S 45 R B 2. Niches; probably once iii.
S 46 R B 1 (–) iii – –. Niches.
S 47 R C 6 (–) iii.
S 48 R B 1 (–) iii.
S 49 R C 5 (–) iii. A I-type door on the left.
S 50 R C 2.
S 51 R.
S 52 R – 1. Inscribed marble base.
S 53 R. Many niches cut in the rock. One inscription.
S 54 R. Series of niches similar to W 53 cut alongside the road; a few are roughly inscribed.
S 55 R C – (c) iii.
S 56 R. Several chambers and niches round what was perhaps a quarry.
S 57 R. Niches.
S 58 R. Not certainly a tomb.
S 59 B II.
S 60 B II.
S 61 R. Perhaps a cistern.
S 62 R C – (–) iii. Buried.
S 63 R B. Inscribed interior.
S 64 R B 1 (–) iii – ?II.
S 65 R C 4 (–) iii. Niches made after fall of the façade.
S 66 R B 3. Large inhabited tomb.
S 67 R C 10. 2 more doorways to the left and another beyond.
S 68 R B 1. Inhabited.
S 69 R A 1 (b) i 3 V. Inscription.
S 70 R C 3.
S 71 R E 2.
S 72 R. Inhabited.
S 73 R. Many niches.
S 74 R. Inscriptions inside.
S 75 R – 1. Niches.
S 76 R – 1.
S 77 C III; pp. 10, 13. Excavated by Rowe.
S 78 C III.
S 79 R – 1.
S 80 C V. Excavated by Rowe.
S 81 C V.
S 82 C IV.
S 83 C V.
S 84 C V. Pl. VII, *a*.
S 85 C IV.
S 86 R. Completely buried.
S 87 B II.

S 88 B II.
S 89 B II.
S 90 R. Completely buried.
S 91 B II.
S 92 B II, 2, 2.
S 93 R. Buried.
S 94 B. In wretched condition.
S 95 R. Buried.
S 96 C III. Marble bust at S.E. corner.
S 97 R. Buried.
S 98 C. Overgrown.
S 99 B II, 2, 2. Exceptionally strong.
S 100 R B 1 (–) iii.
S 101 C IV.
S 102 B II, 2, 2.
S 103 B II, 2, 2.
S 104 R. Used in Roman times.
S 105 B II 2, 2.
S 106 B II 2, 2.
S 107 B II 2, 2. Worn marble bust at N. end.
S 108 B II 2, 2.
S 109 B II 2, 2.
S 110 B II 2, 2.
S 111 R II 2, 2.
S 112 R. Niches.
S 113 B II 2, 2. A marble bust lies 10 m. W., and another 10 m. N.W. of that.
S 114 R B & C 3. A marble bust 15 m. N.
S 115 R – 1. Scant remains of a circular tomb above it.
S 116 B II 2, 2. Niches.
S 117 B II 2, 2.
S 118 R C 3. Inscription.
S 119 R – 1. Buried.
S 120 R C 4. Niches, buried.
S 121 B II 2, 2.
S 122 B II 2, 2.
S 123 B II 2, 2.
S 124 R. Depression.
S 125 B II 2, 2.
S 126 B II 1, 1.
S 127 B II 2, 2.
S 128 B II 1, 1.
S 129 R. Buried.
S 130 R B & C 3. Inhabited.
S 131 R. A series of entrances to inhabited chambers.
S 132 R – 1.
S 133 R C 1 (e) i – –.
S 134 R C 5 (f) i – –.
S 135 R B 1 (–) – – –. Ruined, buried.
S 136 R. Like a built tomb.
S 137 R. Like a built tomb.
S 138 R – 1. Buried, niches.
S 139 R. Miscellaneous entrances.
S 140 R B 1 (e) ii – II. Buried.
S 141 R B 3 (e) ii – I. Mostly buried.
S 142 R C 3 (–) i. Buried.
S 143 R C 5 (f) ii – –. Buried.
S 144 R – 1. Inhabited.
S 145 R – 1. Buried.
S 146 R C 6.
S 147 R. Much of built façade lies in front.
S 148 R B 1. Inhabited.
S 149 R B 1 (e) ii – II. Imitation courses; more than half buried.
S 150 R C 3.
S 151 R C 3 (–)?iii. Half-buried.
S 152 R – 4. Buried.
S 153 R – 2. Buried.
S 154 R C 4 (f) ii – V. Buried.
S 155 R – 2. Inhabited.
S 156 R. Several crudely hewn entrances.
S 157 R C 2.
S 158 R – 2. Pediment; inhabited.
S 159 R C 1. Niches; inhabited.
S 160 R B 1 (f) ii ε I. Inhabited.
S 161 R B 2. Inhabited.
S 162 R B 2. Inhabited.
S 163 R B 1 (–) ii. Inhabited.
S 164 R C 5 (e) ii – I. Used as storerooms.
S 165 R. Buried under débris.
S 166 R C 1 (e) ii γ I.
S 167 R. Built type.
S 168 R B 1.
S 169 R – 2.
S 170 R B 1 (e) i δ III. Inhabited.
S 171 R – 3.
S 172 R C 5 (c) iii – V
S 173 R B & C 3.
S 174 R C 5 (f) ii.
S 175 R – 3.
S 176 R. Façade hidden.
S 177 R B 1 (c) ii – I. Inhabited; more entrances on rt. of courtyard.
S 178 R B 1 (e) ii – II. An entrance on each side-wall; imitation courses; niches.
S 179 R C 7 – iii – –. Buried.
S 180 R 4. Miscellaneous tomb entrances.
S 181 R B 1. Niches.
S 182 R B 1 (e) ii β III. Inhabited; imitation courses; partly buried.
S 183 R B 1 (–)?iii. Very big.
S 184 R B 1 (c) iii – –. Inhabited.
S 185 B II 2, 0; pp. 3 fn. 3, 12, 15; Maioletti 1 fig. 3; 3 figs. 4–8; Smith & Porcher, pls. 28, 36 (poor); Horn, Abb. 31. Entered from porch below.
S 186 B II 2, 1.
S 187 B. Presumably a tomb.
S 188 R C 8 (c) iii – –. Buried; remnants of fairly ornate tomb.

S 189 R. Buried.
S 190 R C. Buried.
S 191 R B 1 (f) i. Rough.
S 192 R B 1. Another entrance on rt. side-wall.
S 193 R B 1 (–) – – V. Inscriptions and niche for bust.
S 194 B II, 1, 1.
S 195 B. Heap of masonry.
S 196 B II 2, 2.
S 197 B II 2, 2.
S 198 R. Buried.
S 199 R. Buried.
S 200 B II 2, 2.
S 201 R. Important remains of built superstructure above; entablature and columns lie below.
S 202 B II 1, 1.
S 203 B II 1, 1.
S 204 B II 2, 2.
S 205 B I 1, 1.
S 206 B II 1, 1.
S 207 R. Buried.
S 208 R. Buried.
S 209 R. Buried.
S 210 R. Buried.
S 211 R – 1.
S 212 R – 3. Now storehouse.
S 213 C III.
S 214 C III.
S 215 B II 2, 2.
S 216 R C 3. Another entrance on rt. side-wall.
S 217 R. Buried.
S 218 R B 1 (–) iii – –. Niches; inhabited.
S 219 R B 3. Inhabited.
S 220 R B & C 4. Inhabited.
S 221 C III.
S 222 B II 1, 1.
S 223 R. Half-buried.
S 224 R C 2 (f) i.
S 225 R C 8. Buried.
S 226 R B 1 – iii. Half-buried.
S 227 R C 4 (e) iii – –.
S 228 R B 1. Niches; buried.
S 229 R C 2 (–)?iii.
S 230 R C 5 (–)?iii.
S 231 R C 4. Half-buried.
S 232 C IV.
S 233 R C 6 (–) iii.
S 234 B VI.
S 235 C IV.
S 236 C IV.
S 237 R. Overgrown.
S 238 C IV. Circular ring of steps.
S 239 R – – (–) iii.
S 240 R B 1 (–) iii.
S 241 C V.
S 242 C IV.
S 243 C IV.
S 244 B II 2, 2.
S 245 R – – (–) iii – –. Buried.
S 246 C IV.
S 247 C.
S 248 R C 5 (–) iii. Buried.
S 249 R C 5 (–) iii. Buried.
S 250 B II 2, 2.
S 251 R C – (–) iii. Buried.
S 252 R B 1 (–) iii. Niches; loculi on the rt.
S 253 R. Once a very large tomb.
S 254 R.
S 255 R B 1 (–) iii. Inscriptions.
S 256 C V.
S 257 C V.
S 258 B II 2, 2.
S 259 R. Buried.
S 260 C V.
S 261 R. Not certainly a tomb.
S 262 R – – (–) iii.
S 263 B II 2, 2.
S 264 B II 2, 1.
S 265 B II 2, 2.
S 266 R C 5 (–) iii.
S 267 B II 2, 2. Larger; carved mouldings.
S 268 B II 2, 2.
S 269 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
S 270 B II 2, 2.
S 271 B II 2, 2.
S 272 R C 6. More than 6 doorways, but buried; niches.
S 273 R. Buried.
S 274 C IV.
S 275 C IV.
S 276 D-shaped, built.
S 277 R. Choked with débris.
S 278 B II 2, 2.
S 279 B VI.
S 280 B VI.
S 281 B II 2, 2.
S 282 B II 2, 2.
S 283 B II 2, 2.
S 284 B VI; p. 17. With mouldings and panelled sides.
S 285 R C 5 (–) iii. One entrance on either side-wall; niches.
S 286 R C 4 (–) iii. Inhabited.
S 287 R C 4 (–) iii. Inhabited.
S 288 R. Buried—a garden.
S 289 R. Buried.
S 290 R C 3.
S 291 R C 2 (–) iii. Buried.
S 292 R C 5 (–) iii. Niches; buried.
S 293 R C 4 (–) iii. Buried.

S 294 R B 1 (–) iii. Buried.
S 295 C IV.
S 296 R C 4 (–) iii.
S 297 B II 2, 2.
S 298 C II. Well made.
S 299 B II 2, 2.
S 300 B II 2, 2.
S 301 B II 2, 2.
S 302 B II 2, 2.
S 303 R B 1 (e) iii. Half-buried.
S 304 R C 6 (–) iii. Half-buried.
S 305 R C 4 (–) iii. Half-buried.
S 306 R C – (–) iii. More than half-buried.
S 307 B II 2, 2.
S 308 C II.
S 309 B II 2, 2.
S 310 B II 2, 2.
S 311 R B 1 (–) iii. Inhabited.
S 312 B II 1, 1.
S 313 R B 1 (e) ii – II. Inhabited.
S 314 B II 2, 2.
S 315 B II 2, 2.
S 316 R C 4. Niches; one entrance on each side-wall; marble bust by road 50 m. N.
S 317 R C 5 (–) iii. Inhabited.
S 318 R C 5 (–) iii. Half-buried.
S 319 B II.
S 320 R C ?5 (–) iii. Half-buried.
S 321 R C 7 (–) iii. Half-buried.
S 322 R B 1 (–) iii. Buried.
S 323 R B 1 (–) iii. Buried.
S 324 R. Inhabited; but much of tomb buried.
S 325 R. Inhabited; half-buried.
S 326 R. Niches; buried.
S 327 R B 3 (–) iii. 4 more entrances on the left; inhabited.
S 328 R B 1 (–) iii.
S 329 R B 1 (–) iii. Niches; now a storeroom.
S 330 R B 1 (–) iii. Now a storeroom.
S 331 R B 1 (–) iii. Inhabited.
S 332 R. Buried.
S 333 R B 1.
S 334 R B 1. Niches inside.
S 335 R B 1 (–) iii. Half-buried.
S 336 R. Buried.
S 337 R B 1. Applied façade, with semi-columns on the inside.
S 338 B II 2, 2.
S 339 R B 1 (–) iii.
S 340 B II 2, 2.
S 341 C. Large mound.
S 342 B II 1, 1.
S 343 C V.
S 344 B II 2, 2.
S 345 R C 4 (–) iii.
S 346 B II 2, 2.
S 347 B II 2, 2; p. 21. With an arch built into the entrance; well preserved.
S 348 R C 4 (c) iii.
S 349 R C 5 (–) iii.
S 350 R B 1 (–) iii.
S 351 R C 1.
S 352 C IV.
S 353 C IV.
S 354 B II 2, 2.
S 355 R C 8 (–) iii.
S 356 R B 1 (–) iii. I-type doors in the interior.
S 357 R B 1.
S 358 R C 5 (–) iii.
S 359 R E ; p. 21. Marble sarcophagus of 2nd century A.D. now in museum.
S 360 R B 1 (–) iii.
S 361 B. Possibly base of large tomb.
S 362 R B. Buried.
S 363 B II 2, 2.
S 364 R B 1. Inhabited. 20 m. E. marble bust and remains of structure; 50 m. E. 2 more busts.
S 365 R. Buried.
S 366 R B 1 (–) iii. Buried.
S 367 R B 1 (–) iii. Half-buried.
S 368 R B 1 (–) iii. Buried.
S 369 R. Buried; foundations of some built tombs near by.
S 370 R. Inhabited.
S 371 R. Buried.
S 372 R. Half-buried.
S 373 B II 2, 2.
S 374 B II 2, 2.
S 375 B II 2, 2.
S 376 B II 2, 2.
S 377 B II 2, 2. Marble bust near by.
S 378 B II 2, 2.
S 379 B II 2, 2.
S 380 B II 2, 2.
S 381 R B 1 (–) iii. Buried.
S 382 R B 1 (–) iii. Buried.
S 383 R B 1. Inhabited; niches.
S 384 B II 1, 1. N.W., a marble bust.
S 385 R. Inhabited.
S 386 R B 1 (–) iii. Inhabited.
S 387 R C – (–) iii. Half-buried; inhabited.
S 388 R B 1. Half-buried; inhabited.
S 389 R C 6 (–) iii. Half-buried.
S 390 R B 1. Inhabited.
S 391 R B 1 (e) iii – –.
S 392 R. Possibly a cistern.
S 393 R B 1.
S 394 R B 1 (–) iii. Niches. By its W. side a balustrade with steps, presumably for funeral statues.
S 395 R. Buried, barely visible.

S 396 R B 1. Niches; inhabited.
S 397 R – – (–) iii. 1 entrance on the rt. side-wall; buried.
S 398 C V.
S 399 R. Half-buried.
S 400 R B 1. Inhabited.
S 401 B II 2, 2.
S 402 B II, 2, 2.
S 403 R. Inhabited.
S 404 B II 2, 2.
S 405 R C 7 (–) iii. Half-buried; 1 entrance on left.
S 406 R. Inhabited.
S 407 R. At least 2 doorways.
S 408 R. Now 1 wide entrance; once B 1 (–) iii, with built façade inside as well as out.
S 409 R. Half-buried.
S 410 C V.
S 411 R C 5 (e) iii – –. Half-buried; some more entrances.
S 412 B II 1, 1.
S 413 R B 1 (–) iii. Buried.
S 414 R C 4 (–) iii. Half-buried.
S 415 R C 3.
S 416 R B 1. Other entrances on sides.
S 417 B II 2, 2.
S 418 B II 1, 1.
S 419 R. Buried.
S 420 R. Buried.
S 421 B II 1, 0.
S 422 R. Buried.
S 423 R. Buried under rubbish heap.

East Necropolis

(Maps, figs. 6, 7)

E 1 C I. 2 worn marble busts by the road. 100 m. N.W. inscribed marble base; 15 m. W. again, a marble bust split in two.
E 2 B II 2, 2. In quite good condition.
E 3 B II 2, 2.
E 4 C I.
E 5 B II 1, 1.
E 6 B II 2, 2.
E 7 B II 2, 2.
E 8 B II 2, 2.
E 9 B II 2, 2.
E 10 B II 2, 2; p. 15. Marble stele, unearthed 20.iii.54; inscribed ΓΩΛΥΔΑΜΑΣ/ΕΥΑΙΝΩ.
E 11 B II 2, 2.
E 12 B II 2, 2.
E 13 C I. Excavation required.
E 14 B II 2, 2. Very worn marble bust at S.E. corner.
E 15 C I; pp. 12, 13. Traces of carved mouldings on podium on N.E. side; an impressive monument which could be excavated with profit.
E 16 B I; p. 14.
E 17 B II 2, 1; p. 16.
E 18 B II 2, 2.
E 19 B II 2, 0; p. 15. Excavated by Rowe.
E 20 B II 2, 2.
E 21 B I.
E 22 B II 2, 2.
E 23 B II 2, 2.
E 24 R A. Ionic pillars, unfinished, like N 2–4.
E 25 B.
E 26 R – 1 (–) iii.
E 27 R B 1 (–) iii.
E 28 B.
E 29 B.
E 30 B II 2, 2.
E 31 B II 2, 2.
E 32 B II 2, 2. By S.W. a worn marble bust.
E 33 B II 2, 2.
E 34 B II 2, 2.
E 35 B II 2, 2.
E 36 B II, 2, 2.
E 37 B II, 2, 2.
E 38 B II 2, 2.
E 39 B II 2, 2.
E 40 C.
E 41 B II 2, 2.
E 42 C V.
E 43 B II 2, 2.
E 44 B II 1, 1.
E 45 B. A large rectangular structure, half buried and overgrown; probably not a tomb.
E 46 C.
E 47 C I; p. 12.
E 48 C III; p. 13.
E 49 B II 1, 1.
E 50 B II 2, 2.
E 51 B II 2, 2.
E 52 B II 2, 2.
E 53 R. An elaborate tomb with applied façade on all 4 sides of a quarried-out hole.
E 54 B II 2, 2. Note ornamental guilloche at top of steps.
E 55 B II 2, 2.
E 56 B II 2, 2.
E 57 B.

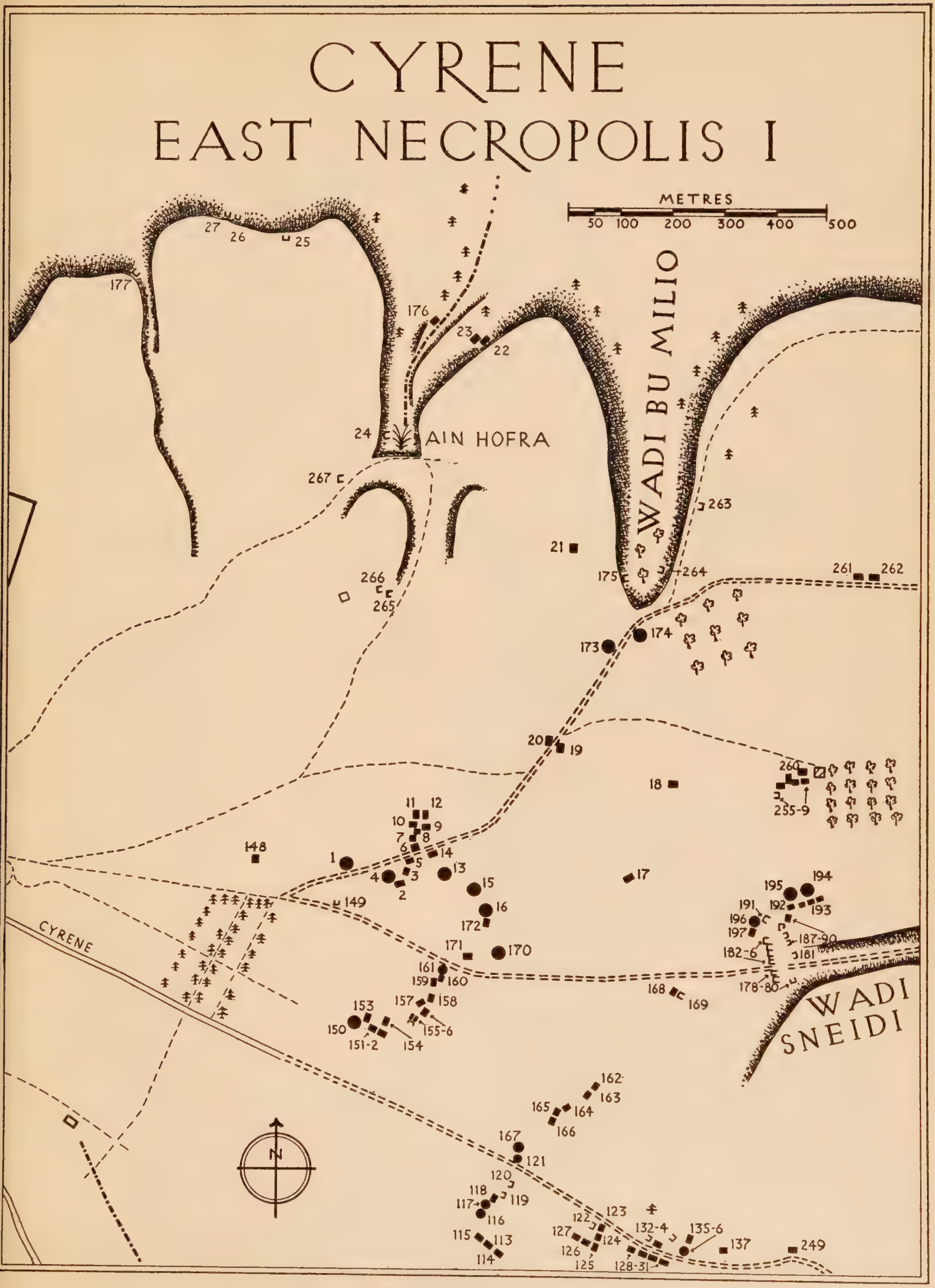


Fig. 6.—Cyrene: East Necropolis (Northern Half).

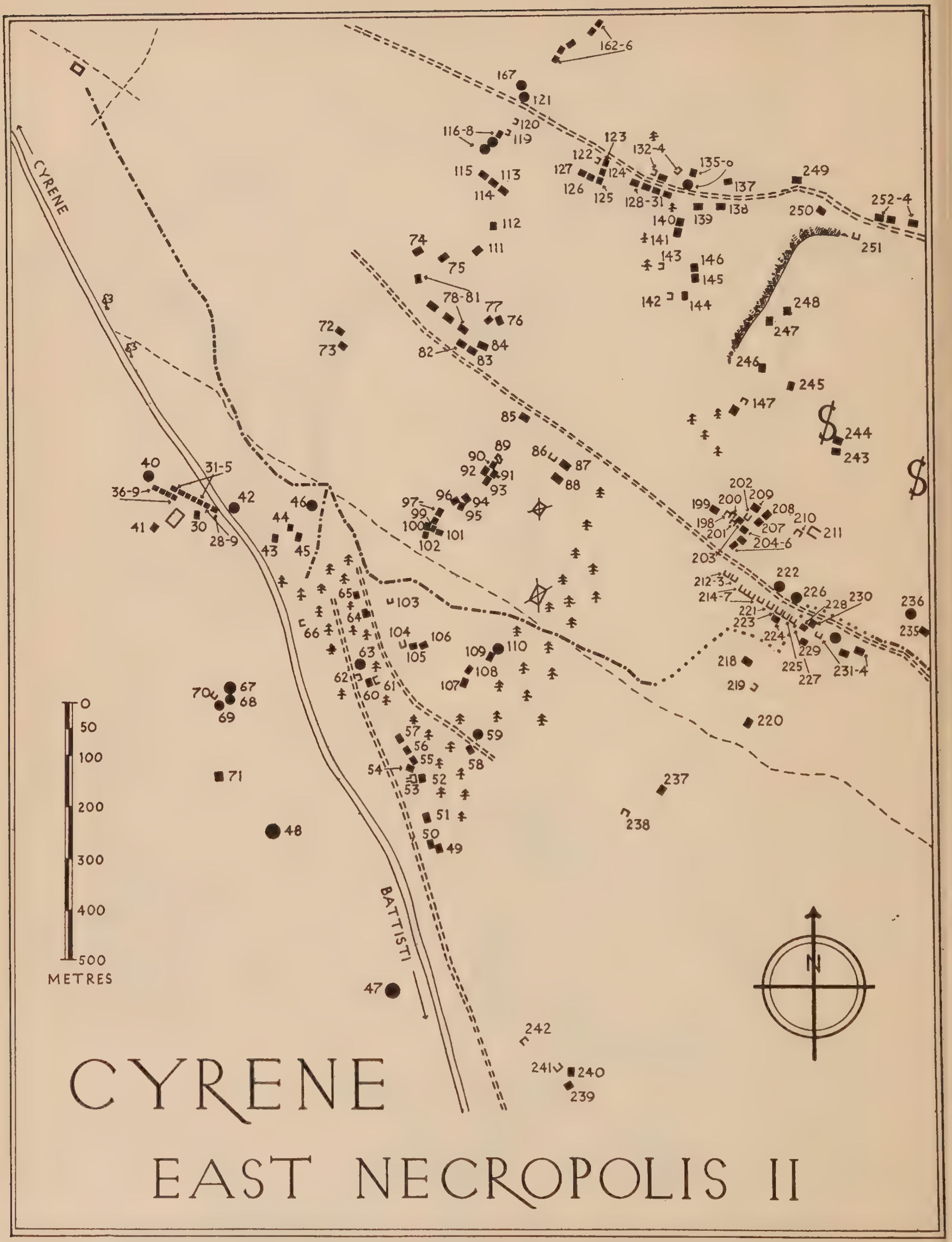


FIG. 7.—CYRENE: EAST NECROPOLIS (SOUTHERN HALF).

E 58 B II 2, 2.
E 59 C V.
E 60 B II 1, 1.
E 61 R C 4 (–) iii.
E 62 R B 1 (–) iii.
E 63 C I. A very large circular monument, surrounded by a wall. Excavation would be revealing.
E 64 B II 2, 2.
E 65 B II 2, 2.
E 66 R – – (–) iii. An imposing tomb once.
E 67 C IV.
E 68 C IV.
E 69 C IV.
E 70 R C 2 (f) i 3 I.
E 71 B VI; pp. 10, 14.
E 72 B; p. 14. Large, rectangular; once an impressive monument; would repay study.
E 73 B. A rectangular monument whose exterior seems to have consisted of separate upright blocks of stone.
E 74 B II 2, 2.
E 75 B II 2, 2.
E 76 B II 2, 2.
E 77 B II 1, 1.
E 78 B II. Of rather unusual type.
E 79 B II 1, 1.
E 80 B II 2, 2. A marble bust amid the remains.
E 81 B II 1, 1.
E 82 B II 5, 5; p. 16. Marble object at S.W. corner; bust 4 m. N.
E 83 B II 2, 2.
E 84 B II 2, 2.
E 85 B II 2, 2.
E 86 R C – (–) iii. More or less buried.
E 87 B II 2, 2.
E 88 B II 1, 1.
E 89 R C 6 (–) iii.
E 90 B II 1, 1.
E 91 B II 2, 2.
E 92 B II 1, 1.
E 93 B II 1, 1.
E 94 B II 2, 1.
E 95 B II 2, 2.
E 96 B II 1, 0.
E 97 B II 2, 2.
E 98 B II 1, 1.
E 99 B II 1, 1.
E 100 D-shaped.
E 101 B II 2, 2.
E 102 B.
E 103 R B 1 (–) iii β II (without consoles).
E 104 R B 1 (–) iii β ?II.
E 105 B II 1, 1.
E 106 B II 1, 1.
E 107 B II 2, 2.
E 108 B II 2, 2.
E 109 B II 1, 1.
E 110 C V.
E 111 B II 2, 2.
E 112 B. Once a rectangular tomb perhaps; it has a concrete vault; E is a reservoir; needs study.
E 113 B II 2, 2.
E 114 B II 2, 2.
E 115 B II 2, 2.
E 116 C II. Probably resembled tomb at Meghernes.
E 117 C II. As E 116.
E 118 B II 2, 2.
E 119 B II 1.
E 120 R. Not certainly a tomb.
E 121 C I. 2 marble busts; had a precinct wall surrounding it; needs study.
E 122 R. 2 small entrances to tombs in E. side.
E 123 B II 2, 2.
E 124 B II 2, 2.
E 125 B II 2, 2.
E 126 B II 2, 2.
E 127 B II 2, 2.
E 128 B II 2, 2. Considerable remains.
E 129 B II 2, 2.
E 130 B II, 2, 2.
E 131 B II 2, 2.
E 132 R B 1 (–) iii.
E 133 B II 2, 2.
E 134 R. Largely submerged.
E 135 B II 2, 2.
E 136 C ?V.
E 137 B II 2, 2.
E 138 B II 2, 2. 5 m. W. a worn marble bust.
E 139 B.
E 140 B II 2, 2; p. 4. Carved entablature and door architrave; central semi-column; 4 marble busts W. of it.
E 141 B II 1, 1.
E 142 B II 2, 2. Marble bust on W.
E 143 R. Overgrown.
E 144 B II 2, 2.
E 145 B II 1, 0.
E 146 B II 2, 2.
E 147 R B 1 (–) iii. Buried.
E 148 Built foundations; 40 m. W.N.W. marble base; 7 m. S. of this, marble base; 10 m. S.W. two statues. Perhaps a sanctuary.
E 149 R C 2 (–) iii. Half-buried; marble bust in rt.-hand chamber.
E 150 C II; p. 12.
E 151 B II 2, 2.
E 152 B II 2, 2.
E 153 B.

E 154 B II 2, 2. 2 marble busts to E.
E 155 2 small built tombs and probably a rock-cut one below; 1 marble bust and 1 stele amid the débris.
E 156 B.
E 157 B II 1, 1. 1 rather broken bust in the middle; on W. marble stele worth disinterring.
E 158 B II. Marble bust, rather worn.
E 159 B II.
E 160 B II 2.
E 161 C I.
E 162 B II 2, 2.
E 163 B II 2, 2.
E 164 B II 2, 2.
E 165 B II 2, 2.
E 166 B.
E 167 C ?II.
E 168 B II 2, 2.
E 169 R.
E 170 C I. A marble statue in the middle.
E 171 B II 2, 2.
E 172 B II 2, 2.
E 173 C I. Not much left.
E 174 C II; p. 13. Excavated by Rowe; it may not have been roofed.
E 175 R – 3 (–) iii. Not certainly a tomb.
E 176 B II 2, 2.
E 177 R B 1. Niches; not certainly a tomb.
E 178 R B 2. Buried.
E 179 R B ?5. Rough; inhabited.
E 180 R B 3 (e) iii β II.
E 181 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
E 182 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
E 183 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
E 184 R C 7 (–) iii. Buried.
E 185 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
E 186 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
E 187 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
E 188 R C 4 (–) iii. More or less buried.
E 189 R. Buried.
E 190 B II 2, 2.
E 191 B + R R B 1; p. 16. With B II 2, 2 above it so that the side of the built tomb is the top part of the façade of the rock-cut.
E 192 B III 1, 0.
E 193 B III 1, 0.
E 194 C. Heap of earth and stones.
E 195 C IV.
E 196 C IV.
E 197 B III
E 198 R C 4 (e) iii. Mostly buried.
E 199 B II 2, 2.
E 200 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
E 201 R C 5 (–) iii. Dilapidated.
E 202 R. Sunken and buried.
E 203 B II 2, 2.
E 204 B II 2, 2.
E 205 B II 2, 2.
E 206 B II 2, 2.
E 207 B II 2, 2. Carved Doric leaf on doorway.
E 208 B II 2, 2.
E 209 B II 2, 2.
E 210 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
E 211 Large collection of walls and fallen masonry; perhaps once a farm.
E 212 R – – (–) iii.
E 213 R – – (–) iii. 2 entrances visible on left flank.
E 214 R – – (–) iii.
E 215 R B 3 (–) iii. Excellently preserved I-type doors in interior; at back Ionic entablature with dentils and 2 II-type doors.
E 216 R B & C 4 (–) iii.
E 217 R – – (–) iii.
E 218 D-shaped.
E 219 R B 1 – iii.
E 220 B II 2, 2.
E 221 R – – (–) iii.
E 222 C V.
E 223 R – – (–) iii. Buried.
E 224. B II 1, 1.
E 225 R B 2 (–) iii. Marble base inside inscribed Θεύχρηστος Μελάνθευς.
E 226 D-shaped; p. 14.
E 227 R B 2 (–) iii. Both doorways lead to the same room.
E 228 B II 2, 2.
E 229 B II 2, 2.
E 230 B II 2, 2.
E 231 R C 7 (e) iii.
E 232 C V; p. 14.
E 233 B II 1, 1.
E 234 B II 1, 1.
E 235 B VI; p. 17.
E 236 C IV.
E 237 B II 2, 2.
E 238 R C 4 (–) iii. Overgrown.
E 239 B II 2, 2.
E 240 B II 2, 2.
E 241 R. Collection of rough entrances; inhabited.
E 242 R D 1 (f) i 3 V.
E 243 B II 2, 2.
E 244 B VI.
E 245 B II 2, 2.
E 246 B II 2, 2.
E 247 B II 2, 2.
E 248 B II 2, 2.
E 249 B II 2, 2.
E 250 B II 2, 2.
E 251 R B 1 (–) iii.
E 252 B II 2, 2.
E 253 B II 1. 1.

E 254 B II 1, 1.
E 255 R – – (–) iii.
E 256 B II 2, 2.
E 257 B II 2, 2.
E 258 B II 2, 2.
E 259 B II 2, 2.
E 260 B II 2, 2.
E 261 B II 2, 2.
E 262 B II 2, 2.
E 263 R. In a poor state.
E 264 R. Bad state.
E 265 R. Inhabited.
E 266 R B 1.
E 267 R B 1 (–) iii. Inhabited.

CROSS-REFERENCES TO TOMBS

1. *Pacho*

Pls. xvi, xvii, xviii, xix. Tombs at Zawani.
Pls. xxiv, xxv. Tombs at Meghernes.
Pl. xxx. N. Cemetery.
Pl. xxxi. N 38, N 39.
Pl. xxxii. N 65, N 52.
Pl. xxxiii. N 36.
Pl. xxxiv. N 65, N 36.
Pl. xxxv. N 196.
Pl. xxxvi. N 196, N 57.
Pl. xxxvii. N. Cemetery, N 2–10.
Pl. xxxviii. N 2–10.
Pl. xxxix. N 241, N 84.
Pls. xl, xli. N 178, N 179.
Pl. xlii. W 28 and others.
Pl. xliii. W 18, 20, 21.
Pl. xliv. W 20.
Pls. xlv, xlvi. N 180.
Pl. xlvii. N 55, W 48.
Pl. xlviii. Various plans.
Pls. xlix, l, lii, liii. See above, p. 7.
Pl. li. N 241.
Pl. liv. See above, p. 7.
Pl. lv. N 83.
Pls. lvi, lvii. Sarcophagi (W 107).
Pl. lviii. Sarcophagus (N 398).
Pl. lxi. N 66.
Pl. lxiii, 9. N 83.
Pls. lxx, lxxi. Tomb at Tolmeta.

2. *Smith & Porcher*

Frontispiece. N. Cemetery (N 180).
Pl. 9. 'Tomb of Residence'. See above, p. 8.
Pl. 13. N. Cemetery.
Pl. 14. N 165.
Pl. 15. N 90–92.
Pl. 16. N. Cemetery.
Pl. 17. N 83.
Pl. 18. Wadi bel Ghadir.
Pl. 19. N 17.
Pl. 20. N 86.
Pl. 21. See above, p. 8.
Pl. 22. N 226.
Pl. 23. ?
Pl. 24. N 131.
Pl. 25. N 178.
Pl. 26. W 66.
Pl. 27. N 398.
Pl. 28. S 185.
Pl. 31. N 83.
Pl. 32. N 86.
Pl. 33. N 17.
Pl. 34. ?
Pl. 35. N 131.
Pl. 36. Plan and elevation of built tomb.
Pl. 37. W 16.
Pl. 38. W 48.
Pl. 46. Tombs at Meghernes.
Pls. 52, 53. Tomb at Tolmeta.

3. *Rowe*

M 1. N 383.
M 2. N 202.
M 3. N 197.
M 4. E 174.
M 5. E 19.
M 6. Near N 202.
M 7. N 241.
M 8. N 57.
M 9–M 13. N 80–84.
M 14. S 77.
M 15. N 1.
M 16. N 13.
M 17–M 19. W 383, or near.
M 20. Tomb of Battus.
M 21. Tomb of Onomastus.

NOTES ON SOUTHERN ETRURIA AND THE AGER VEIENTANUS

(Plates XIV—XXI)

THE notes that follow are the first results of a programme of field-survey undertaken by the writer and by various members of the British School during the autumn of 1954 in the area that lies immediately to the north of Rome, between the Tiber and the sea. This area is one that has been strangely neglected by modern students of Italian topography. Ashby's published work is concerned mainly with those parts of the Campagna that lie to the south and east of Rome; and Tomassetti's work, invaluable as a repertory of manuscript and published sources, lays no claim to be a comprehensive survey of the material remains surviving on the ground.

Such a survey is badly needed today. The romantic desolation of Southern Etruria is being transformed from one day to the next under the impact of a scheme of land-reform comparable in scale to the great reforms of classical antiquity, and vast estates which for centuries have been used for stock-breeding and seasonal pasture are being broken up and brought into cultivation with all the devastating thoroughness that modern mechanical equipment entails. Whole regions are accessible today as they have never been before, and within them the bulldozer and the mechanical plough are busy destroying whatever lies in their path. Much of the damage to ancient sites is unavoidable, the inevitable accompaniment of any scheme to put the land to agricultural use; much of it serves no purpose but the convenience of the contractor. The moral is the same in either case: if this material is to be recorded, the record must be made at once.

These notes record the corporate work of many persons, notably of Dr. G. U. S. Corbett, who has prepared the accompanying maps, and of two Rome Scholars, Martin Frederiksen and Adrian Montford, who have accompanied the writer over most of the ground described. The former contributes a note on the inscriptions and brick-stamps found. To the latter is due the credit of first noting the hitherto unidentified stretch of the Via Clodia to the north-west of Osteria Nuova. The survey of the Fontanile del Re Carlo is the work of Peter Staughton, Rome Scholar in Architecture. To the Rector of the German College and to Ingegnere Mario Colini and his brother, Professor A. M. Colini, we are particularly indebted for their kindness in facilitating the recording of the site of Careiae, and for permission to publish this summary account of the finds. We are also indebted to Professor Renato Bartoccini, Superintendent of Antiquities for Southern Etruria, and his staff, who are waging a gallant, if at times unequal, struggle to record the finds that are being made daily within their territory and to restrain, where possible, the destructive hand of progress.

For purposes of detailed record there have been included in the text a certain number of the place-names for which there is no place in the accompanying maps. Most of these will be found in the appropriate sheets of the Carta d'Italia. References to air-photographs are to prints held in the School's collection of operational photographs taken during the war by the R.A.F. and handed over to the School for scientific use after the close of hostilities. The following publications are cited throughout in abbreviated form:

Gell.	Sir William Gell, *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*, London, 1834. The map accompanying both this and the edition of 1846 dates from 1822.
Nibby.	Antonio Nibby, *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquaria della Carta de' dintorni di Roma*, Rome, 1837.
Tomassetti.	Giuseppe Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana antica, medioevale e moderna*, Rome, 1913.

I. THE 'VIA VEIENTANA'

Carta d'Italia, Sheets 149 I NE (Monte Mario) and 143 II SE (Formello); scale 1:25,000. Unless otherwise stated the editions here cited are those of 1930 and 1925 respectively. Since this edition all the kilometre-stones on this stretch of the Via Cassia have been displaced. Of the two figures given in the text, the first is that of the present stones, the second that of the Carta d'Italia, 1930.

Gell, vol. ii, pp. 312–5 (=1846, vol. ii, pp. 441–3). The accompanying map dates from 1922.

Nibby, vol. iii, pp. 427–8.

Canina=Luigi Canina, *L'antica città di Veii*, Rome, 1847.

Tomassetti, vol. iii, pp. 22–6.

The most securely attested of the roads linking Veii to Rome is that conventionally known as the Via Veientana, which leaves the Via Cassia in the neighbourhood of Tomba di Nerone (Kilo 9·8 = 8·2), crosses the valley of the Fosso del Fontanile, follows the crest of the ridge separating this valley from that of the Fosso della Vacchereccia, and finally drops into the latter and crosses it just above the junction of the two streams that encircle Veii, and winds its way up the south-western escarpment of the Piazza d'Armi, the ancient citadel. This road was already ruinous in 1834, when Gell speaks of 'the traces of a road, which every succeeding year tends to obliterate'; but the greater part of its length can still be determined with reasonable certainty.

It left the Via Cassia at or shortly after the tomb of P. Vibius Marianus, better known as 'Tomba di Nerone'; [1] and after crossing the open, shelving ground immediately to the right of the main road, it dropped sharply down the head of a small re-entrant side-valley into the main valley of the Fosso del Fontanile. The actual point at which it left the Via Cassia is not quite certain. Ashby's annotated copy of the Carta d'Italia [2] shows it as running off at right angles, about 100 metres short of the present turning for Grotta Rossa. This was certainly the line followed by the country track described in the next paragraph, before this was superseded by the modern road from the Via Cassia to Grotta Rossa, which follows an easier but less direct line, leaving the Cassia about 150 metres farther to the north-west. It is so shown on the pre-1930 editions of the Carta d'Italia, and the scar of it can still be seen on air-photographs taken in 1944 (*e.g.* 5CM 656.3063). What is not clear, however, is whether Ashby saw any certain

---

[1] A prominent roadside landmark, illustrated by Canina, pl. III. Beside it stands the fifth Papal milestone, dated 1824. The popular name, which had previously been applied to the estate on which the tomb stands (properly the Tenuta del Casale di Sant'Andrea; Tomassetti, p. 22), is now given to the modern quarter that has sprung up around it on either side of the Via Cassia.

[2] For the opportunity to consult these maps I am indebted to their present owner, Professor Giuseppe Lugli, who was Ashby's companion in so many of his excursions into the Campagna.

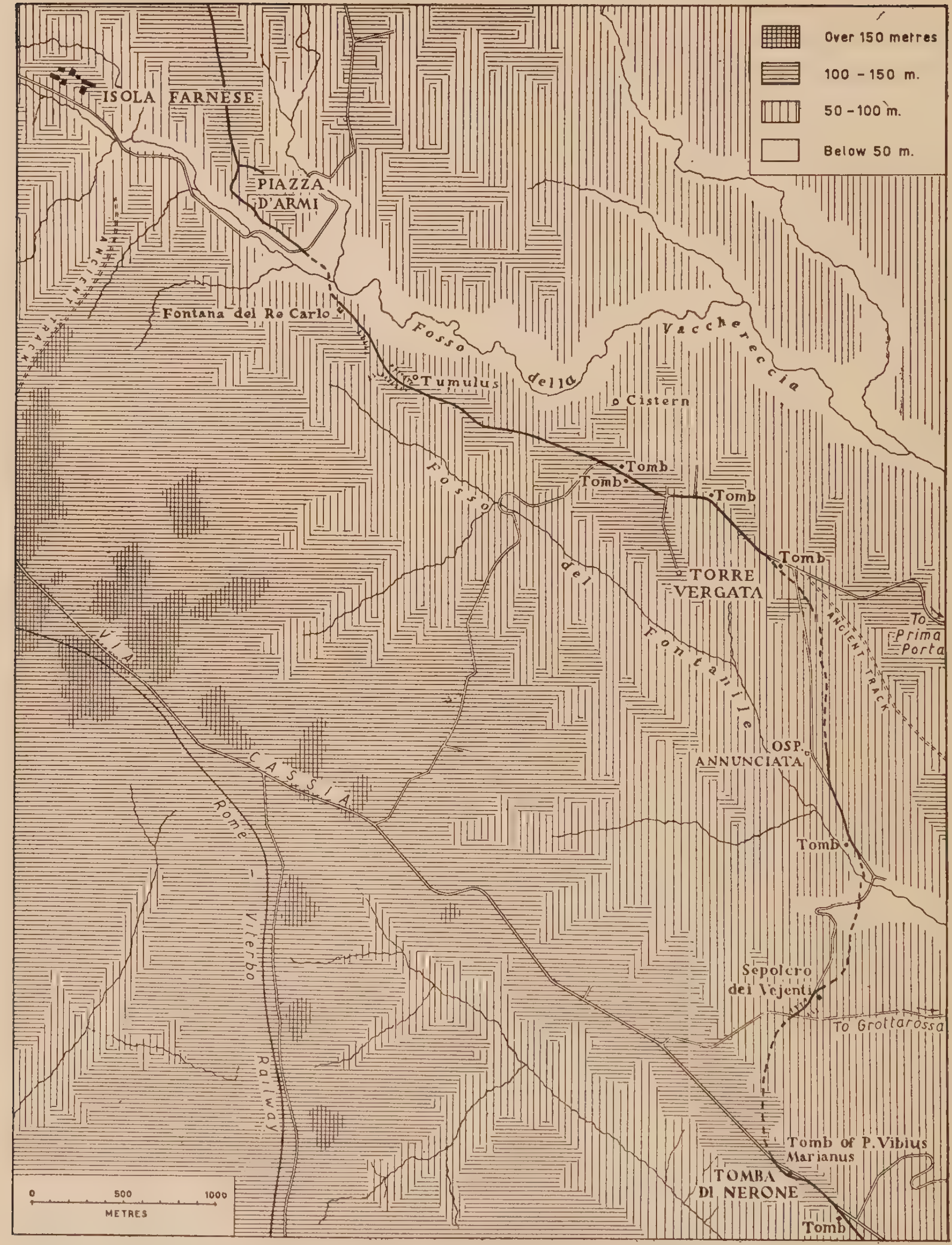


Fig. 1.—The Via Veientana from Tomba di Nerone to Veii.

traces of Roman work along this first stretch, or whether he may not have inferred its antiquity from that of the next stretch of the same track. The same air-photographs show a dark line, cutting across the contours and running obliquely down from the Tomba di Nerone to the cutting above the 'Sepolcro dei Vejenti'; [3] and Ashby's predecessors agree in placing the fork at or near the Tomba di Nerone, and in showing the road to Veii branching off the Via Cassia at an acute angle before curving away sharply down the hill. Unfortunately the first few hundred metres of its course are now obscured beyond hope of recognition by the shanty-town that has grown up at this point alongside the main road. One can only record and regret the element of doubt over a matter of such importance for establishing the original relation between the Via Veientana and the Via Cassia.

The first certain trace of the ancient road is a well-marked rock-cutting on the left-hand (north-east) side of the modern road that leads from the Via Cassia at Kilo 10·8 (= 9·15) to Grotta Rossa on the Via Flaminia. Through this cutting, which lies some 600 metres to the north-east of the main road and is of undoubted antiquity, a country track branches off the modern road and winds down the hill to a bridge (destroyed in 1944) across the Fosso del Fontanile; and on the right of it, barely 100 metres beyond the cutting, can be seen the still impressive remains of a large Roman mausoleum, the so-called 'Sepolcro dei Vejenti' (Pl. XVI, *b*, *c*; Fig. 2). This is presumably the 'splendid sepulchre' whose ruins Gell saw below 'the building called Ospedaletto'. [4] It consists of a barrel-vaulted tomb-chamber incorporated within the concrete core of a rectangular, tower-like building. The tomb-chamber, built of carefully dressed Gabi tufa without cramps, opened towards the south-east and had shallow, arched recesses in the two side walls and opposite the entrance. The façade has vanished completely (unless any part of it remains buried beneath the rubbish accumulated at the base of the mausoleum), but its position is shown by the face of the concrete core, which was evidently encased within a facing of massive ashlar blocks. This facing, which was itself almost certainly of travertine with marble details, was bonded into the core by means of roughly squared blocks of travertine and of Luna marble, incorporated in, and projecting from, the core. The latter is a hard concrete, with an aggregate consisting almost exclusively of lumps of *selce*. Although the mixture was poured and spread in layers some 10–15 cm. thick, each successive layer was added before its predecessor had time to dry out, and fused with it into a single compact mass, slightly layered when seen in vertical section, but in all other respects uniform and indivisible. At intervals corresponding to alternate courses of the outer facing the core was levelled off and allowed to dry out, to provide a platform for the placing in position of the bonding blocks and of the next two courses of the facing. In the resulting horizontal joint can be seen pockets of travertine chippings (Pl. XVI, *c*); evidently the final dressing was done when the blocks were already in position or just ready to be laid. No trace survives in the vicinity either of the facing or of any architectural detail. The masonry technique and the material suggest an Augustan or early Imperial date.[5]

---

[3] The horizontal bedding of the strata of many parts of the Campagna, with the resultant outcropping of horizontal beds of harder, light-coloured rock, gives to many of the photographs the effect of a variegated contour-map. An oblique dark mark of this sort, cutting across the contours, must mark the accumulation of soil within a man-made hollow.

[4] The farmhouse of Ospedaletto Marziale on the hill above the road to the right; see Tomassetti, p. 25.

[5] Cf. the Tomb of Caecilia Metella.

The entrance to the tomb, as was not uncommon, seems to have lain on the side away from the road. The latter, immediately after passing the tomb, must have dropped away to the right of the present track, following a rather steeper line and winding down the hill, past a spring, and so down the right-hand side of the valley-bottom. It appears to have crossed the tributary stream at a point about 50 metres above the destroyed modern bridge, where a recent fall of earth from the right bank has deposited a number of *selce* paving-blocks into the stream bed. Gsell, writing in 1834, remarks that 'in the valley many traces of the ancient pavement existed until about ten years ago'. But in the actual valley-bottom there seems to have been a considerable accumulation of soil since antiquity, and the most conspicuous Roman monument, a tomb ('Sepolcro' on the Carta d'Italia) is now buried to a height of nearly 3 metres above the ancient surface. Like the Sepolcro dei Vejenti, this tomb, which stands on the left bank of the Fosso del Fontanile about 350 metres above the destroyed bridge, was a tower-like structure with a concrete core, in which was incorporated at ground level a tomb-chamber. The latter, which faced upsteam and was a barrel-vaulted chamber with low, rounded recesses in the three inner walls, has been stripped of any facing that it may once have had; but a short

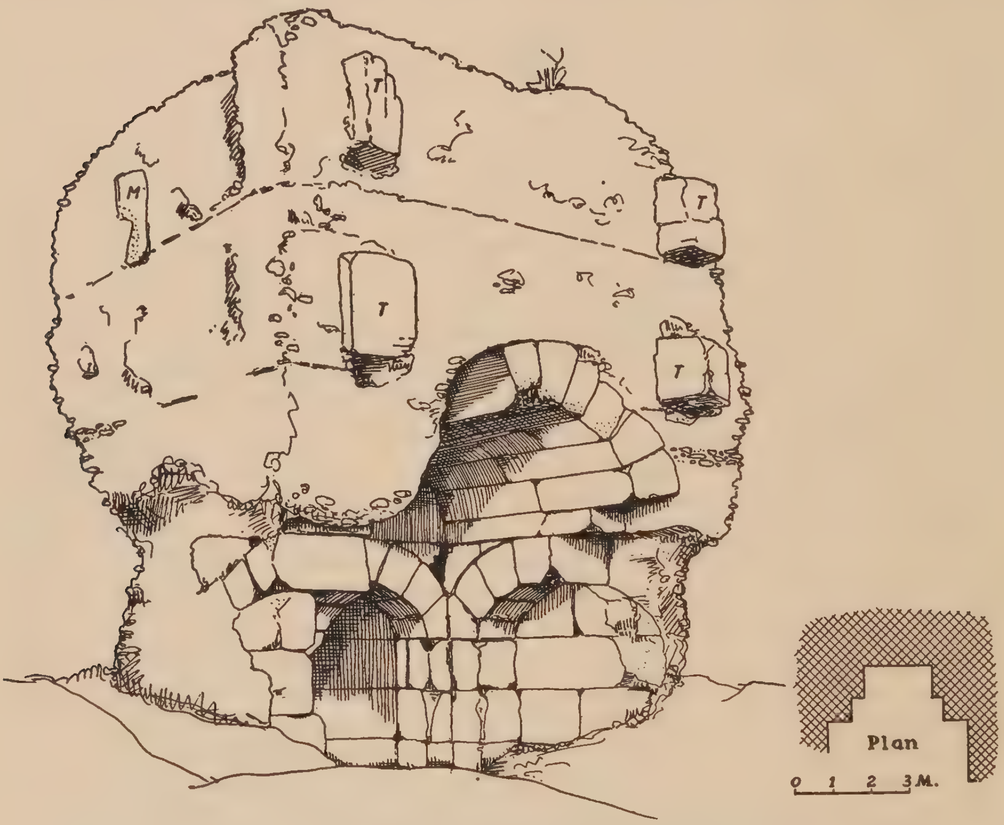


Fig. 2.—Sepolcro dei Vejenti (Drawing by G. U. S. Corbett; M indicates Marble, T Travertine.)

stretch of the original façade, of tufa reticulate with brick quoins at the angles (bricks 2·5–3·5 cm. thick, very irregular and widely jointed, 10 courses = 40 cm.) is exposed in the left bank of the stream. The core is of hard grey concrete, with an aggregate that consists mainly of travertine but incorporates fragments of extraneous matter, including a small piece of Pentelic marble. The horizontal joints marking the successive stages of the work come at irregular intervals, between 1·20 and 1·40 metres apart. The masonry and materials alike indicate a date in the late first century or early second century A.D.

Immediately above and below the tomb, exposed in the left bank of the stream, are traces of other Roman structures, in coarse tufa masonry; and just behind it an ancient track climbs the crest of a spur towards the plateau that bounds the Fosso del Fontanile to the north-east. Both Gell and Ashby took this to be the line of the Roman road, which must in that case have crossed the stream some distance below the tomb just described. For about 150 metres it coincides with the modern track that leads up from the valley to the farm of Ospedaletto Annunziata, and then the ancient road drops off the crest on to a well-marked terrace, leaving the modern road to follow a more direct course up to the farmhouse.[6] The terrace bears off to the right, and after another 150 metres it crosses a small but deep stream by a natural bridge, and emerges into the bottom of a broad, shallow, cultivated valley, which runs northwards up to the crest of the plateau. From this point onwards, for over a kilometre, the exact line of the ancient road can no longer be traced with any certainty. The cutting, in the thirties, of the modern road from Prima Porta to the Via Cassia has altered the established pattern of communications; and in the valley itself continuous cultivation has obliterated all certain trace of what, from the nature of the ground, may well have been a somewhat fluctuating line. Ashby, who saw the ground before the modern road was made, marks the ancient line as that of the track still shown in the 1930 edition of the Carta d'Italia, and there seems to be no reason to question his judgment, unless indeed the ancient road passed to the east rather than to the west of the stream in the lower part of the valley, where the same edition marks a hollow way, of which, despite heavy ploughing, the right-hand scarp was still visible in 1954. The only Roman site still visible in this stretch is a low terrace projecting from the right-hand side of the valley just before joining the modern road. This terrace now serves as a platform for a thatched shepherd's enclosure, and all that can now be seen, lying just below it, are a few shapeless lumps of rather poor, mortary concrete with tufa aggregate and a block of travertine.

After this gap, the line of the ancient road is picked up again at the junction of the track from Ospedaletto Annunziata with the modern road. The entrance to this track and the side-entrance to the adjoining farm are both liberally paved with re-used paving-blocks of *selce*; and just beyond the farm, on the left of the modern road, is the concrete core of what appears to have been a circular Roman tomb, about 10 metres in diameter. The concrete is white and mortary, with an aggregate of tufa, rather like that of the terraced site described in the preceding paragraph; and lying near by are two blocks of squared tufa and many broken fragments of travertine. A ragged hole dug in the east face is the work of tomb-robbers; and three fragments of Late Republican black-glazed pottery

---

[6] Gell suggests that there was an alternative route at this point, following the small, steep-sided valley to the right of the spur. No trace of such a route could be seen in 1954, and the steep climb up the river-bed at the head of the valley seems ill-adapted for a road.

(Type D) picked up beside it may perhaps once have been part of the tomb-furniture. To judge from the pre-war map and from air-photographs taken in 1944, the Roman road passed just to the west of this tomb, underneath the modern farm-buildings,[7] joining the line of the modern road at an acute angle 100 metres or so to the north.

From this point, for nearly a kilometre, the line of the modern road coincides almost exactly with that followed both by its immediate predecessor and by the Roman road, diverging only for minor rectifications of line (as, for example, at the junction of the track from Torre Vergata,[8] where the old road swings a little wider and is visible as a hollow to the left of the present road). About 200 metres before this junction, on the right of the road, there are the remains of what must once have been a tomb of some pretensions. All that remains is the lower part of the concrete core, to a height of less than 2 metres, but this shows a careful differentiation of materials, the footings being composed almost entirely of lumps of travertine and *selce*, whereas the surviving upper part is of tufa with a little travertine. Incorporated in the core near the west angle is a re-used fragment of a tufa pilaster-base; and the debris stacked around includes fragments of squared blocks of tufa and of marble. This is presumably the 'considerable ruin of what may have been a conserva or reservoir, or possibly another sepulchre', which Gell saw near Torre Vergata.

Some 200 metres past the junction of the track from Torre Vergata, the road passes between the remains of two more tombs (Gell's 'two tumuli of considerable size'). Of the original structure of that on the left, all that now remains is a rectangular core, some 7 metres square, consisting of a homogeneous mass of coarse lumps of tufa set in a hard concrete. To this core at some later date has been added a facing of broken *selce* set in concrete; but since this includes lumps of what were evidently once paving blocks, the additions can hardly have been made before the Middle Ages. To the original structure presumably belong several fragments of squared marble blocks lying near by. The tomb on the right is better preserved, standing some 3 metres high at the centre (Pl. XVI, *a*). Once again only the concrete core has survived, a rectangular base, some 10 metres square, which may possibly have carried a smaller superstructure. The aggregate is of mixed tufa and travertine, the mixture being levelled off and allowed to dry out about every 60–70 cm.; and pockets of travertine chippings in the horizontal joints (as in the Sepolcro dei Vejenti, p. 47) show that these correspond to the courses of an original travertine facing. A robber shaft, cut down through the core slightly to the north-east of the centre, reveals what appears to be a vaulted chamber beneath, now almost completely silted up.

The road here approaches within a few hundred metres of the cliffs overhanging the Fosso della Vacchereccia (the ancient Cremera), and obliquely off to the right on the skyline, on the edge of the cliffs, are the remains of a large circular, vaulted monument (Pl. XIX, *e*). In its present form this building, which was the subject of a fanciful restoration by Canina,[9] comprises a central circular shaft, 3 metres in diameter, surrounded by four concentric rings, from 2·5 to 2·65 metres in span and roofed with segmental vaults. The walls between the rings are 55–60 cm. thick, giving a total diameter of nearly 30 metres, and there are frequent arched openings from one compartment to the next. The masonry is of a rough, but very hard, concrete, with an aggregate of large, irregular tufa blocks. These are neither dressed nor brought to a regular face, but the arches and the vaults are turned in irregular, elongated lumps of tufa, laid radially like voussoirs. The inner face of the outermost wall is rendered with a waterproof cement, and the most plausible explanation of this singular structure is that it was a cistern, from which the water could be drawn by way of the central shaft. This explanation is confirmed by the proximity, some 20 metres to the south-west, of a very deep rock-cut shaft, presumably a well, nearly 3 metres in diameter, with the remains of structures encircling the mouth of the shaft. The presumed cistern crowns the highest point of ground for a considerable distance and, kept full by artificial means, would have served to supply one or more of the sites in the immediate neighbourhood.

---

[7] Approximately at the north-east corner of the 100-metre contour ring.

[8] 'Torre Vergata', or 'Torvergata', so-called from a medieval tower of striped masonry, now destroyed, rather than 'Torre Vergara', as it appears on the Carta d'Italia; see Tomassetti, p. 26. The farmhouse on the site of the tower incorporates many blocks of ancient masonry, and in the garden is a small collection of antiquities (columns, amphorae, etc.).

[9] Canina, p. 76, pl. XXXIII.

Associated with the cistern were several other structures. Those immediately to the south, exposed by recent quarrying, re-use Roman material, including small square facing-blocks of *opus reticulatum*, and must be either late antique or medieval. Those immediately to the north, however, are contemporary, and comprise a substantial terrace wall just over the edge of the cliff, and above it, at the level of the platform of the circular cistern, from which it appears to project more or less symmetrically, the north-east corner of a rectilinear structure of *opus reticulatum* with quoins of brick.[10] The terrace wall is of concrete, with the remains of a facing of tufa reticulate, and rests on a separate concrete footing. At the west end it is built up against, and later than, the corner of a substantial terrace wall of *opus quadratum*, in well-dressed tufa with a strong, bevelled draft. Up to four courses are exposed, each *c.* 55 cm. high, and a total length of 12–13 metres, the western end being lost to sight behind fallen earth and roots.

Whatever the significance of this site (and it evidently had a long history), the cistern may probably be associated with the remains of a substantial habitation-site, which lies a few hundred metres to the south of it, and about a hundred metres to the west of the second of the two tombs previously described. At this point the modern road bears sharply down to the left, to cross the valley of the Fosso del Fontanile and to join the Cassia at Kilo 12·9 (=11·35) near the Casale del Buonricanero. The ancient road, instead of turning left, kept straight on along the contour, in a generally west-north-westerly direction. The habitation-site lies in the angle between the two. It consists of a low mound, which probably represents the remains of collapsed concrete vaulting; and, strewn all around, a quantity of building debris, including roof-tiles, small triangular facing-bricks, part of a substantial travertine door-sill, fragments of tesselated and of *opus spicatum* paving, red and white painted plaster, and fragments of white marble veneer (both Greek and Italian). For about 500 metres beyond this point the line of the ancient road is clearly visible as a modern farm-track and field-boundary, making directly for a gully, which in 1954 was the only surviving trace on the ground of a line curving gently to follow the contour of the hillside, which is still clearly visible on air-photographs taken ten years before (Pl. XIV),[11] running parallel to, and about 200 metres distant from, the cliffs of the Fosso della Vacchereccia. Just before entering the gully it passes yet another large habitation-site, extending on either side of the road.

---

[10] 4-cm. bricks, coarsely jointed, five courses to 31 cm. The reticulate is of tufa.

[11] 5 CM 656. 3068.

The part of the building that lay to the left of the road was of some architectural pretensions, with polychrome wall-plaster, white marble veneer, pavements of black-and-white mosaic and of *opus spicatum*, and scattered glass tesserae from an *emblema* or from a wall-mosaic or vault-mosaic. In addition to quantities of tile and brick, the building-debris includes several large tufa blocks, one of them part of a Doric frieze, no doubt re-used from some earlier building (Pl. XIX, *c*). The finds also include a well-preserved 'hipposandal' (Fig. 3).[12] Numerous fragments of dolium and of domestic pottery suggest that this may have been a *villa rustica*, first occupied not later than the end of the first century A.D. The building to the north of the road crowned a low knoll, and the material from it, which is very similar in character, is now dispersed over an area of many hundred square metres. The finds include a couple of sherds of black-glazed pottery.

A tumulus on the very edge of the escarpment marks the point at which the line of the road can once more be picked up on the ground.[12a] Less than 100 metres in from this tumulus, a V-shaped cutting leads sharply down into the head of a small re-entrant valley. Here it is cut at right-angles and briefly interrupted by another, more substantial, cutting; [13] but the line can be picked up again almost immediately as a thickly overgrown hollow way, running along the foot of the scarped slope, just inside the woodland, and emerging finally just above the junction of the two streams that encircle Veii. Scattered paving-blocks of *selce*, re-used in the bottom of the hollow way or lying discarded near by, show that this was indeed the Roman road; and about 200 metres from the river-crossing, on the left-hand side of the road immediately before it leaves the woodland to cross the open meadows above the stream, there is a small but well-preserved Roman fountain-house, the so-called Fontana del Re Carlo (Figs. 4, 5).[14]

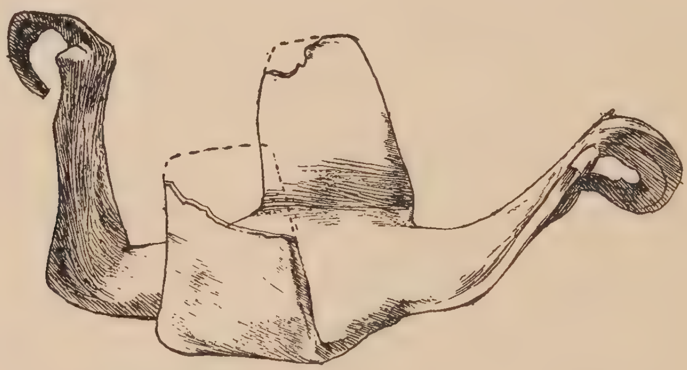


FIG. 3.—HIPPOSANDAL, FOUND BESIDE THE VIA VEIENTANA.

This is a rectangular, barrel-vaulted structure, measuring internally 3·20 by 2·30 metres, the outside of which is now entirely buried by the soil and vegetation accumulated at the foot of the rock-face on the left-hand side of the road. It consisted of a rectangular basin, paved in *opus spicatum*[15] and closed in front by a low parapet wall, of which the approximate height (only the two angles survive) can be gauged by the waterproofing that survives on the other three walls to a height of some 80 cm. above the pavement. The water entered the basin from the middle of the rear wall, by way of a rectangular duct, lined in brick and roofed with four pairs of tiles, which was fed in turn by a second, inner duct, also brick-lined and similarly shaped, but placed slightly off-axis, and roofed directly in concrete without the use of pairs of tiles. The irregularity of plan would most naturally be taken to suggest that the outer basin was an addition to, or replaced, a pre-existing structure. A close examination of the masonry, however, reveals that, at the point of junction between the two ducts, the outer building is brought to a good brickwork face and must have been built free-standing, whereas the concrete of the inner duct has been roughly and rather loosely poured against this brick face. Despite its irregular plan, the fountain must be all of a period.

---

[12] For these enigmatic objects, see R. E. M. Wheeler, *London in Roman Times* (*London Museum Catalogues*, no. 3), 1930, pp. 149–51.

[12a] Just to the left of the road at this point, opposite the tumulus, another small Roman site has recently come to light (not shown on Plate XIV, *b*). The finds include building debris, tesserae, a small marble half-colonnette, and sherds of late *terra sigillata*.

[13] Probably to be identified with Canina's 'Passo della Sibilla' (pp. 73–4, pl. XXIII). It is a fine cutting, with lofty, vertical sides, and it has been deepened in relatively recent times to serve as a farm-track. There is nothing to suggest a Roman origin.

[14] Canina, p. 73, pl. XXI.

The workmanship is strong, but rather roughly finished, a roughness that may well have been concealed by plaster. The concrete core contains some fragments of brick and tile, but is mainly composed of lumps of tufa, poured haphazard and standing by virtue of the quality of the cement. This applies particularly to the vault, on which the marks of the individual planks of the centering (some of them 10–15 cm. too short) are still clearly visible. The facing consists of triangular bricks, bright red and somewhat irregular in shape, averaging 4 cm. No trace of the facing survives on the little of the front and sides that is now exposed; but to judge from the evidence of the rear wall at the junction of the two ducts, this, too, must have been of brick, though possibly of a finer quality.[16] The façade would most naturally have been finished with a brick pediment, and the analogy of similar fountain-buildings elsewhere suggests the possibility of a spout, or spouts, set in the parapet wall. An irregular hole in the right-hand side-wall, near the front corner, may be due to the removal of a metal overflow-pipe. A building of such simple character is not readily datable within narrow limits. On the available evidence (and, in particular, in the absence of reticulate, which was used a great deal locally) it may probably be assigned to the second half of the second century, or to the early years of the third.

Immediately below the fountain the road emerges on to the sloping meadows above the junction of the two streams that encircle Veii, the main stream of the Cremera on the north and east, and the Fosso dei Due Fossi on the south. It crossed the latter immediately above its junction with the main stream. Both streams now run in deep channels cut through the silt that has accumulated since antiquity over the whole valley-bottom; but, as an outcrop of travertine on the inner side of the curve shows, their course has altered very little since Roman times, and the point of junction, which now lies immediately opposite the surviving southern abutment of the Roman bridge, can have lain only a few metres downstream. The masonry is of *opus reticulatum*, with tufa

---

[15] The individual tiles, which are of the same red quality as the brickwork and very tightly fitted together, measure 10 × 5 × 2·5 cm.

[16] On the analogy of tomb-buildings of comparable size and quality, in which the façade is often of finer brickwork than the sides and back, and these in turn than the inner face, which was not meant to be seen beneath its covering of painted plaster or stucco; Jocelyn Toynbee and John Ward Perkins, *The Shrine of St. Peter*, 1954, pp. 64, 269.

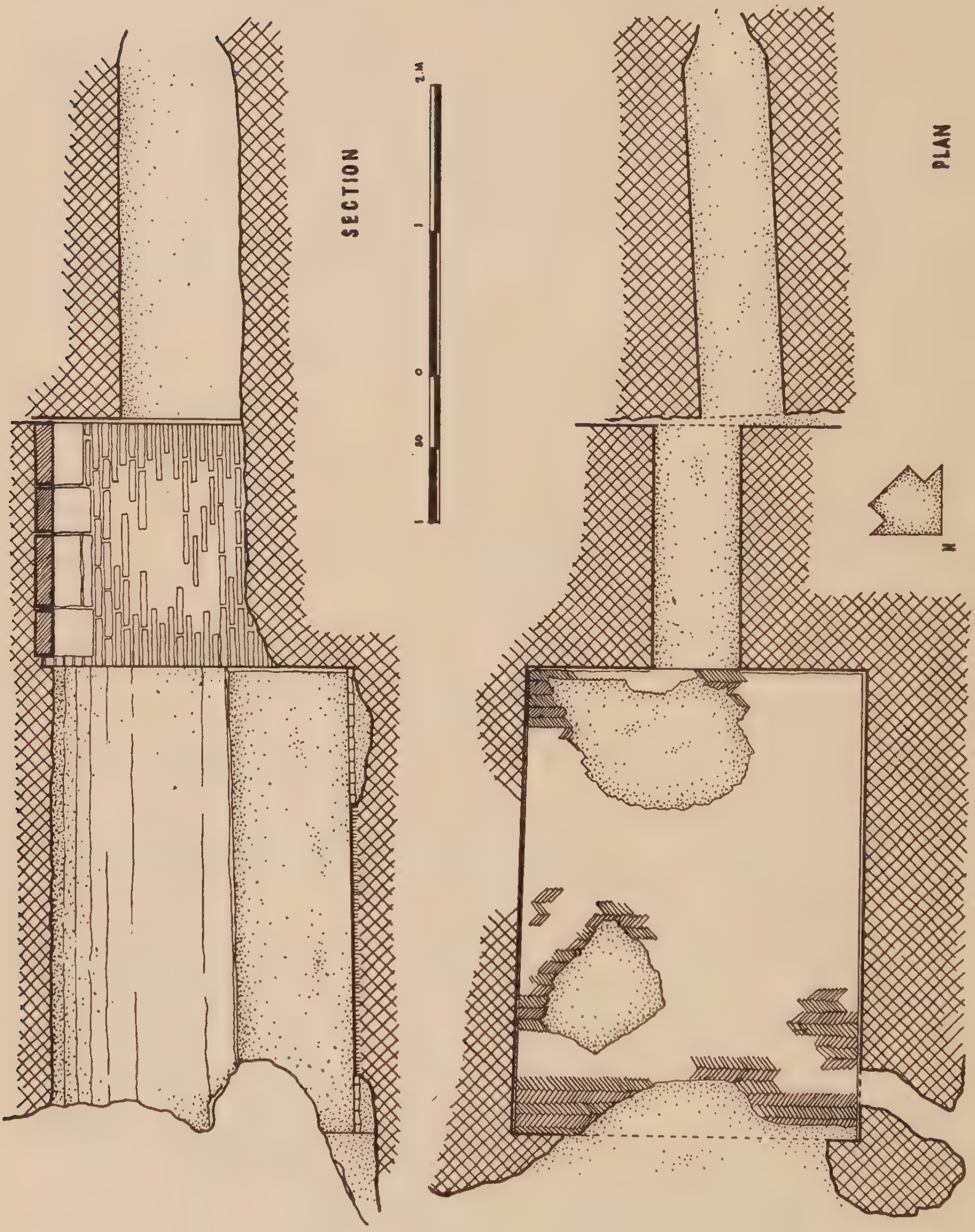


Fig. 4.—Fontana del Re Carlo: Plan and Longitudinal Section.

quoins. From the form of the abutment, with small rectangular projections at either end of the face, it is possible that the superstructure was of timber rather than a masonry arch.

From the bridge the road made for the extreme southern corner of the slopes below the Piazza d'Armi. Across the flat meadows it is lost to sight, but it reappears as a ramp, strewn with scattered blocks of *selce*, which rises to cross the modern farm-road running down the valley, and climbs steeply to join the cart-track that winds up the southern and south-western slopes of the citadel. The paving of this carefully terraced track was still visible in places in 1822, but had vanished before 1834, as Gell records.

After turning sharply to the right up the gully separating the citadel from the rest of the town, it bears slightly to the left and emerges on to the plateau to become the main axial street of the eastern half of the ancient city. Another branch turned sharply right at the head of the gully, to enter the main gate of the citadel.[17]

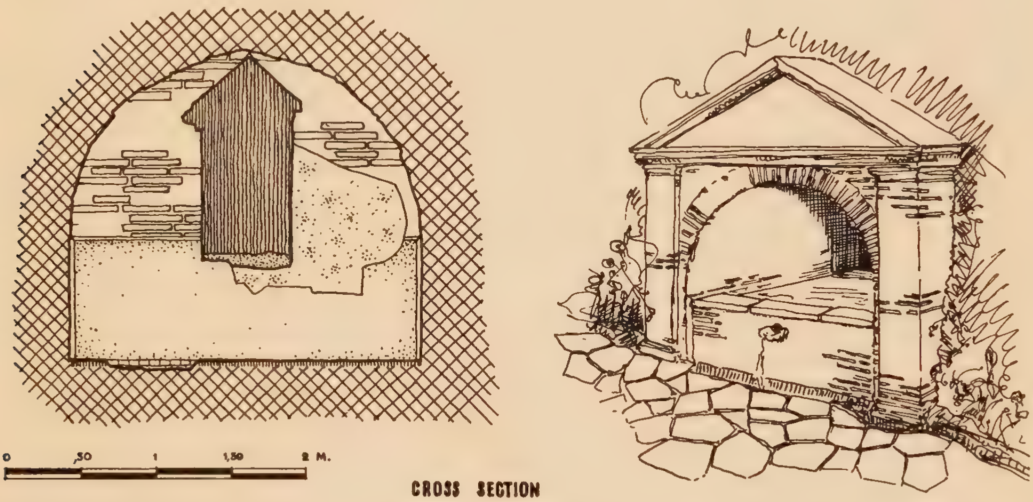


FIG. 5.—FONTANA DEL RE CARLO: TRANSVERSE SECTION AND SKETCH-RESTORATION (DETAILS OF FACADE NOT ATTESTED).

A lengthy discussion of the date and significance of the Via Veientana would be out of place in the present context. This note is primarily a record of what can still be seen on the ground in 1955, and of what can be deduced from the surviving record about those parts of it that are now destroyed. It is nevertheless pertinent to consider very briefly two questions that come to mind on the most summary acquaintance with this road. The first is whether it was the only, or even the principal, means of communication between Rome and Veii. The second is the question of the date when it first came into use and of its relation to the Via Cassia. Neither of these questions can be answered satisfactorily without the wider survey of the Ager Veientanus to which it is hoped that these notes may serve as an introduction. But it may, even so, be useful to suggest tentative answers, even if such answers may require modification in the light of later work.

---

[17] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1922, pp. 390–8, fig. 13.

That it was not the only means of reaching Veii from Rome in Imperial times is certain. There was at least one other metalled road, which left the Via Cassia at approximately the same point as the modern turning to Isola Farnese (Kilo 17·65 = 16) and entered Veii, possibly by the north-west gate,[18] or else, following a more direct and better-attested line (some of the paving is still in place), past the cemetery of Isola Farnese and across the site of the Temple of Apollo. Although somewhat longer than the Via Veientana, there were fewer gradients involved, and it may well be that in Imperial times this, rather than the Via Veientana, was the principal approach from Rome. That would, indeed, seem to be implied by the Peutinger Map, which places Veii at the twelfth mile on the Via Cassia. Besides this metalled road there must in antiquity, as today, have been numerous country tracks, of which at least two merit consideration as roads. The one of these leaves the Cassia at Kilo 15·5 (=13·9), some 200 metres before the entrance to the avenue of pine-trees leading down to the Casale del Pino. It follows a more or less direct line along or just below the crest of the ridge, crossing the avenue obliquely and making for the head of the shallow valley immediately to the north of the Casale buildings, whence it drops at first gently and then more steeply, down into the main valley of the Fosso dei Due Fossi. The greater part of this road, which is clearly visible throughout its length in air-photographs,[19] can be followed on the ground as a shallow terrace or hollow way. There is no trace of metalling; but for 400–500 metres after crossing the avenue, all along the crest and upper slopes of the ridge, there are abundant traces of ancient settlement (tile, brick, blocks of tufa, pottery, etc.), suggesting rather a group of small buildings than a single large establishment, and dating from the Late Republic through to Late Antiquity. At the steepest point of the descent the track breaks into three distinct, V-shaped gullies, suggestive of pack-trails, before emerging into the open meadows immediately below the southern extremity of the promontory on which stands Isola Farnese. It must have crossed the valley to enter Veii by the gate marked I on Gell's plan.

A second country road that must have existed in Roman times was that which left the Via Flaminia near Grotta Rossa, to follow the long level crest that divides the Fosso del Fontanile from the Fosso della Valchetta. The actual road, being unmetalled and crossing easy, open country, has left little tangible trace of itself on the ground; but the line of it is clearly marked by a chain of Roman sites, and it must have corresponded closely with that of the present farm-track running along the ridge. At the actual point of junction with the Via Veientana, near where the line of the latter can be picked up again between the farms of Ospedaletto Annunziata and Torre Vergata (p. 49), both roads have been completely obliterated. But a few hundred metres to the south-east the former is still in use as a farm-track (visible in the extreme right-hand margin of Carta d'Italia Sheet 149 I NE), and in less than a kilometre it passes the remains of two inhabited sites of the Imperial period (bricks, tiles, and pottery) and the sorry vestiges of the concrete core of a mausoleum, robbed of every usable scrap of building material by the builders of the adjoining farmhouse and by the occupants of a war-time anti-aircraft emplacement. The vineyard across the road is said by the farmer to contain graves lined with tiles. This, though never formally established as a metalled road, must have been a much-used country track, very similar in antiquity to what it is today.

---

[18] So Canina, pl. II; but the antiquity of this road is questionable.

[19] *E.g.* 5 CM 627. 4015–6.

The Via Veientana was, therefore, by no means the only road linking Rome and Veii. There is, however, reason for believing that it may be by far the oldest. Of the several alternative routes discussed in the two preceding paragraphs, only one was important enough to be metalled in Roman times; and all of them presuppose the existence of the great military roads from Rome to the North. The Via Veientana, on the other hand, makes use of the Via Cassia only for the short and noticeably a-typical stretch between the city and the sixth milestone. For a very long stretch thereafter the Cassia was in antiquity, as it is today, a typical long-distance road, leaving inhabited centres to right and left, and following the line that involved fewest natural obstacles. Anyone who has ever tried to walk across country in the area immediately north of Rome will appreciate the skill of the Roman engineers in selecting a line that involved them in only one substantial valley-crossing, the Fosso dell'Olgiata (Kilo 19·3, Osteria del Fosso = Kilo 17·7), over a distance of more than 20 kilometres after Tomba di Nerone. To reach Tomba di Nerone, on the other hand, the road not only had to cross the substantial Fosso di Acquatraversa, but it also had to climb to the crest of the ridge by a steeply-shelving gully, the abruptness of which contrasts strangely with the carefully-studied gradients of the following stretches.[20] The physiognomy of this first stretch of the road is, in fact, that of the Via Veientana rather than of the Cassia; and it seems not unreasonable, therefore, to suggest that the choice of this line for the latter was due to the prior existence of the Via Veientana; just as the choice of starting-point was dictated by the prior existence of the Pons Mulvius.[21]

With the possible exception of the tumulus on the brow of the hill opposite Piazza d'Armi, the recorded antiquities along the Via Veientana include no recognisable Etruscan material. This may be due in part at least to the density of later settlement. By comparison with most of the country immediately to the north of Rome this was a well-populated district in Roman times. None of the individual sites is of any great wealth or importance; but a surprising number seem to have achieved a level of prosperity that could afford such modest, middle-class comforts as marble panelling, painted wall-plaster, black-and-white floor mosaics, and imported crockery. The number of dolia and (to a less extent) amphorae suggest that these were small farms; and the general impression conveyed by their remains (the evidence is admittedly inadequate) is that the average size of holding cannot have been so very different from that of the present-day agricultural resettlement schemes operating in the area. In Imperial times the road must have existed as much to serve these farms as it did to carry traffic between Rome and Veii. In the Middle Ages the pattern shifted once more. The land was once again concentrated into the hands of a few large landowners; and, apart from the great trunk roads, it was the *casali* of these great estates that established the pattern of communications in districts, like this, where there were no villages. The Via Veientana no longer served any purpose, except here and there as a farm-track, and it fell out of use, never to recover.

---

[20] For the Via Cassia between the crossing of the Acquatraversa and Tomba di Nerone, see *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1925, pp. 387–99. Unlike the modern road, which winds sharply up to the right, the ancient road, after crossing the stream, continued up the north-east side of the valley and after a few hundred metres bore right, up a steep side-valley, to rejoin the present road at approximately the point (Kilo 9·45) where the line of modern villas on the left-hand side of the road is broken by an open space containing the concrete core of a Roman mausoleum. Just before this point, behind the villas, traces of the ancient road can still be seen (a terraced way up the west slopes of the valley and, just above the embankment of the modern side-road leading to Villaggio Cronisti, massive tufa walls of *opus quadratum*, running parallel with the ancient road, and a substantial concrete foundation); but these are fast disappearing. Between this point and Tomba di Nerone lay the road-station of *ad Sextum*.

[21] The line followed by the Via Triumphalis is, topographically, the more natural exit from Rome.

II. THE VIA CLODIA, BETWEEN LA STORTA AND BRACCIANO

Carta d'Italia, Sheets 143 II SE (Formello) and 143 II SO (S. Maria di Galeria), editions of 1925.
Gell, vol. ii, 1834, pp. 15–17 (=1846, pp. 269–70).
Nibby, vol. i, pp. 318–19; ii, pp. 92–100; iii, p. 576.
Ashby, 1907 = Thomas Ashby, 'Ancient remains near the Via Clodia', *Römische Mitteilungen*, xxii, 1907, pp. 311–22.
Tomassetti, vol. iii, pp. 35–67.
Anziani = D. Anziani, 'Les voies romaines de l'Etrurie méridionale', *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, xxxiii, 1913, pp. 192–4.
Ashby, 1927 = Thomas Ashby, *The Roman Campagna in Classical Times*, London, 1927.
Martinori = E. Martinori, *Via Cassia*, Rome, 1930, pp. 171–6.

Shortly after passing La Storta, where an enormous modern church has recently replaced the modest chapel that commemorates the vision of St. Ignatius Loyola, adding a conspicuous new landmark to the landscape of the northern Campagna, the Via Cassia and the Via Clodia part company. It is by no means certain, as is sometimes assumed,[22] that the former is the earlier of the two. But since all distances on the modern Via Clodia (the stretch between La Storta and Bracciano is known as the Via Clodia Braccianese) are reckoned from the road-junction at La Storta (Kilo 17·65 on the modern Via Cassia), it is convenient to maintain the convention in discussing the antiquities along the route of its Roman predecessor.

It has hitherto been assumed by all scholars who have discussed the point that throughout the stretch between La Storta and Bracciano the modern road follows substantially the line of the Roman road. The purpose of this note is to show that for a stretch of over a dozen kilometres this assumption can be shown to be incorrect, and that in fact the ancient and the modern roads are in places as much as 2 kilometres apart. The correction is obviously one of considerable importance for the interpretation of the ancient topography of this little-explored piece of country. Among other things it involves the displacement of the second road-station out of Rome, *Careiae*, from what can now be seen to be the relatively recent cross-road site of Osteria Nuova to a new and hitherto unsuspected site nearly a kilometre to the east.

For the first 3 kilometres after leaving the Via Cassia, the modern line of the Via Clodia does indeed coincide very closely with that of its classical predecessor, of which the only independent traces that now remain are at those points where the two temporarily diverge. Thus, almost immediately after the fork there is a deep cutting on the left of the modern road, clearly ancient, the line of which suggests that the actual fork may have been moved some distance to the north of its original position, perhaps when the railway was built. The level-crossing at Kilo 1·1 is responsible for a similar, though briefer, divergence from the old line; and at Kilo 2 a slight hollow to the left of the modern road suggests that for several hundred metres the ancient road may have followed a slightly steeper and more direct route, across the shoulder of the low rounded hill that bounds the road on this side.

---

[22] *E.g.* Martinori, p. 171; but see Anziani, p. 192.

The first major divergence comes at Kilo 3. At this point the line of the ancient road swings away to the right up the bottom of a broad, somewhat marshy valley, which it follows on a gentle left-hand curve, over a barely perceptible saddle, and down a similar valley on the other side, to rejoin the modern road at Ponte della Buffala (Kilo 5). On the ground, the line of the ancient road, which has been robbed of its paving by the builders both of the Papal aqueduct and of the railway, is marked only by an occasional *selce* paving-block. But, except for a short distance where it comes very close to, and has been obliterated by, the railway, the line is clearly visible on air-photographs (Pl. XV); [23] and there are several ancient sites beside it. Of the first, on the right of the road near the railway, just before the railwayman's house, all that remains is a thin scatter of tiles and rough fragments of *selce*, as if from a destroyed concrete building, and a little pottery, including two black-glazed fragments. Shortly after this, 200–300 metres to the right of the line of the road, beyond the railway, there is a large pine-covered tumulus, just within the boundaries of the Olgiata estate, and, prominently sited a short distance beyond it, the remains of a substantial Roman building. Just beyond this again, towards the Casale of Olgiata, the paving-blocks of a Roman road are said to have been uncovered by the plough some years back, and this presumably marks the line of a *diverticulum*, linking Veii directly with the Via Clodia at approximately the point where it coincides with the line of the Acqua Paola and of the railway. About 600 metres beyond this point the road passes immediately below the farm and chapel of Sant'Isidoro, which stands on the site of a Roman building of some pretensions. Used as a bench and step outside the chapel are several large blocks of dressed Luna marble, the one bearing part of an early Imperial funerary inscription (Appendix, No. 1); and lying around are the remains of a substantial building—fragments of travertine and marble blocks, including a marble door-sill; a great deal of *selce*; bricks and tiles; fragments of *opus signinum* and of black-and-white mosaic with a simple coloured border; red-painted plaster; white marble veneer; many dolia; and the lower part of a male funerary statue in poor Luna marble. According to the farmer, substantial structures still lie buried in the ground immediately to the south-east of the chapel, beside the road.

Some 500 metres beyond the chapel the road, after rounding the shoulder of the hill below a well-marked scarp, drops down to rejoin the modern road at the Ponte della Buffala (Kilo 5). At this point one can see no less than four successive phases of the road: the ancient road; the first road to replace it, marked by a deep hollow way cutting straight down the slope into the valley, just to the left of the modern road; an intermediate carriageway (the pre-war road?), winding down on an S-curve; and the modern road, carried on a substantial artificial embankment. There is no certain surviving trace of the ancient bridge, which stood on the same site as its present-day successor; but the deep straight cutting that now carries the road through the ridge separating the Fosso

---

[23] 5 CM 694. 3155.

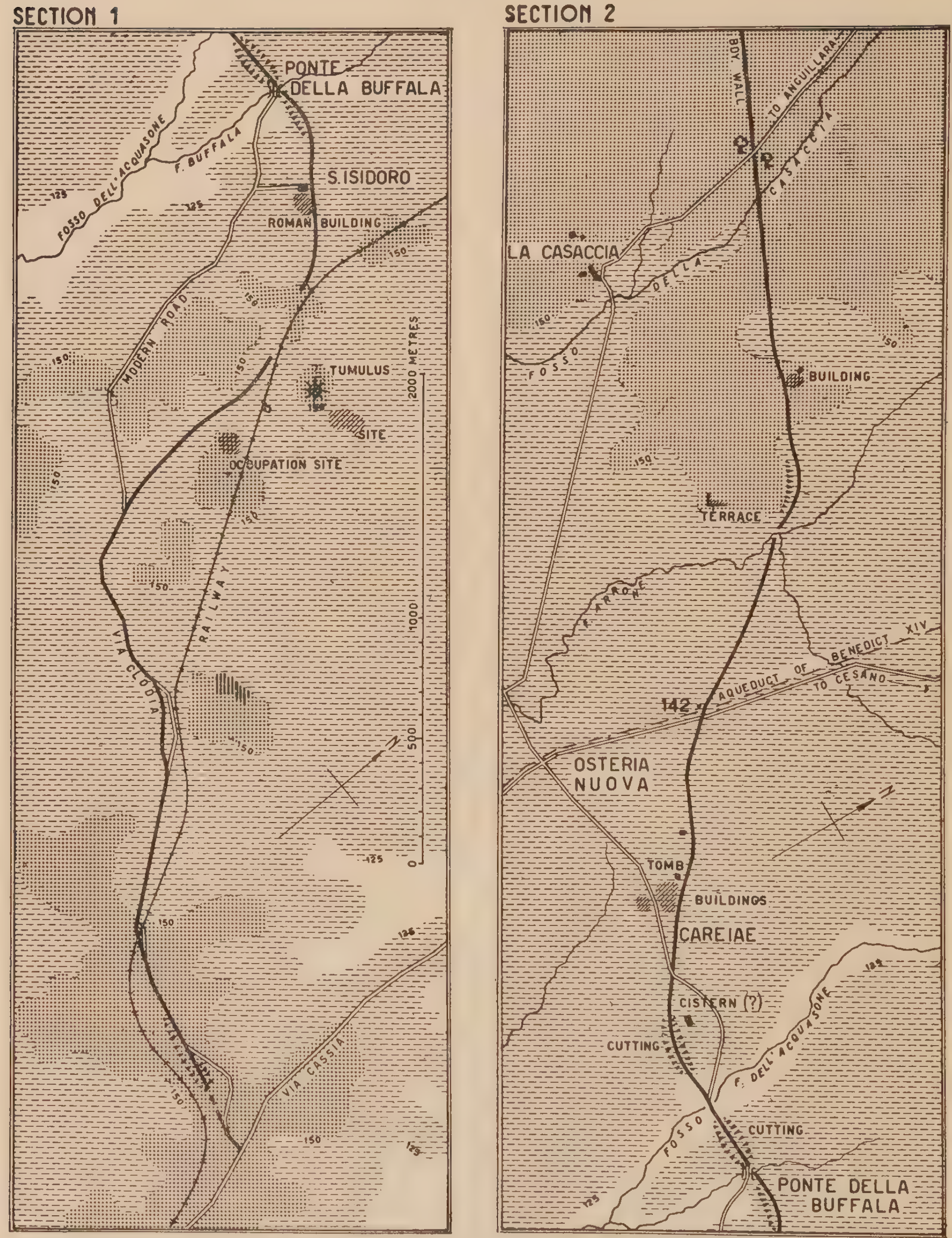


FIG. 6.—THE VIA CLODIA FROM THE VIA CASSIA TO LA CASACCIA
(see inset opposite.)

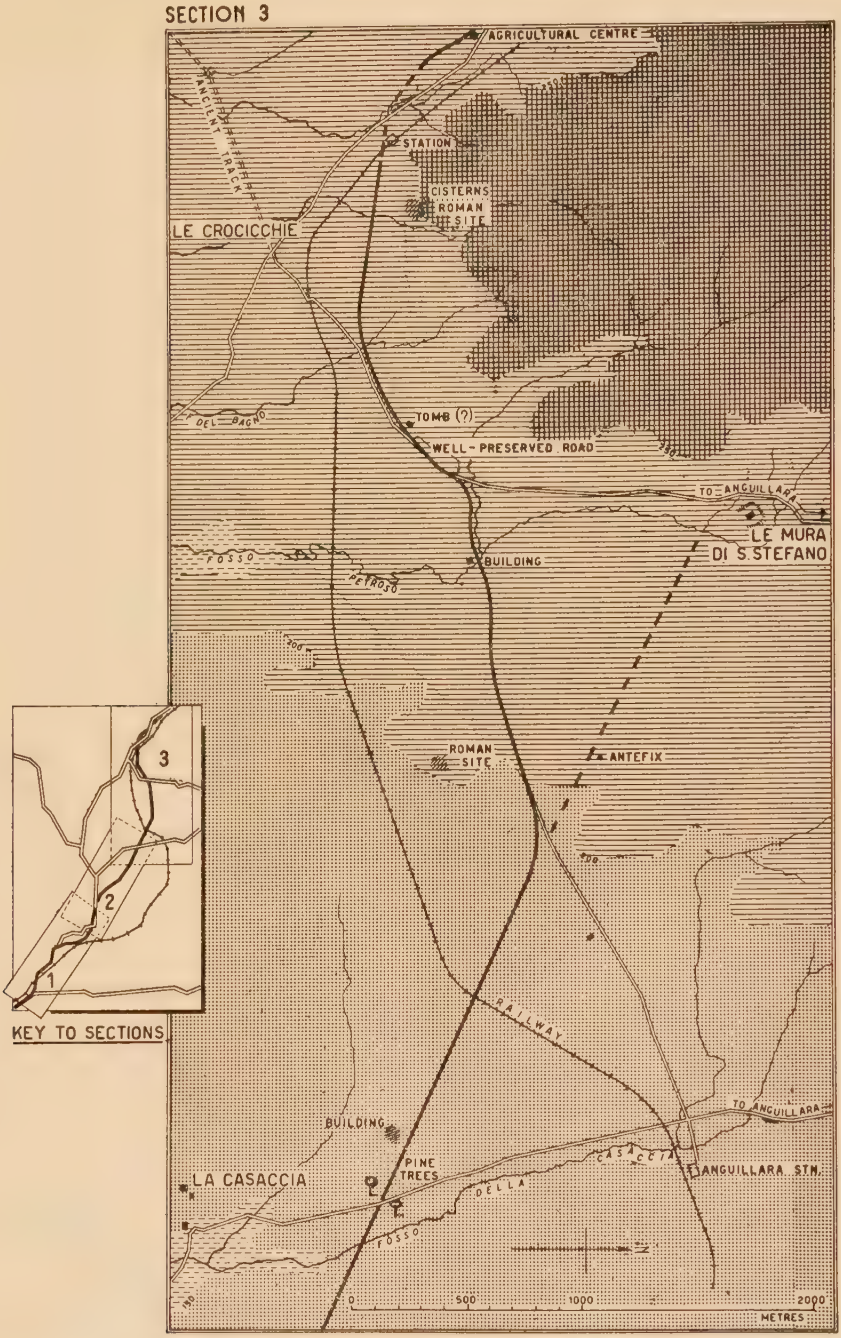


FIG. 7.—THE VIA CLODIA FROM LA CASACCIA TO LE CROCICCHIE.

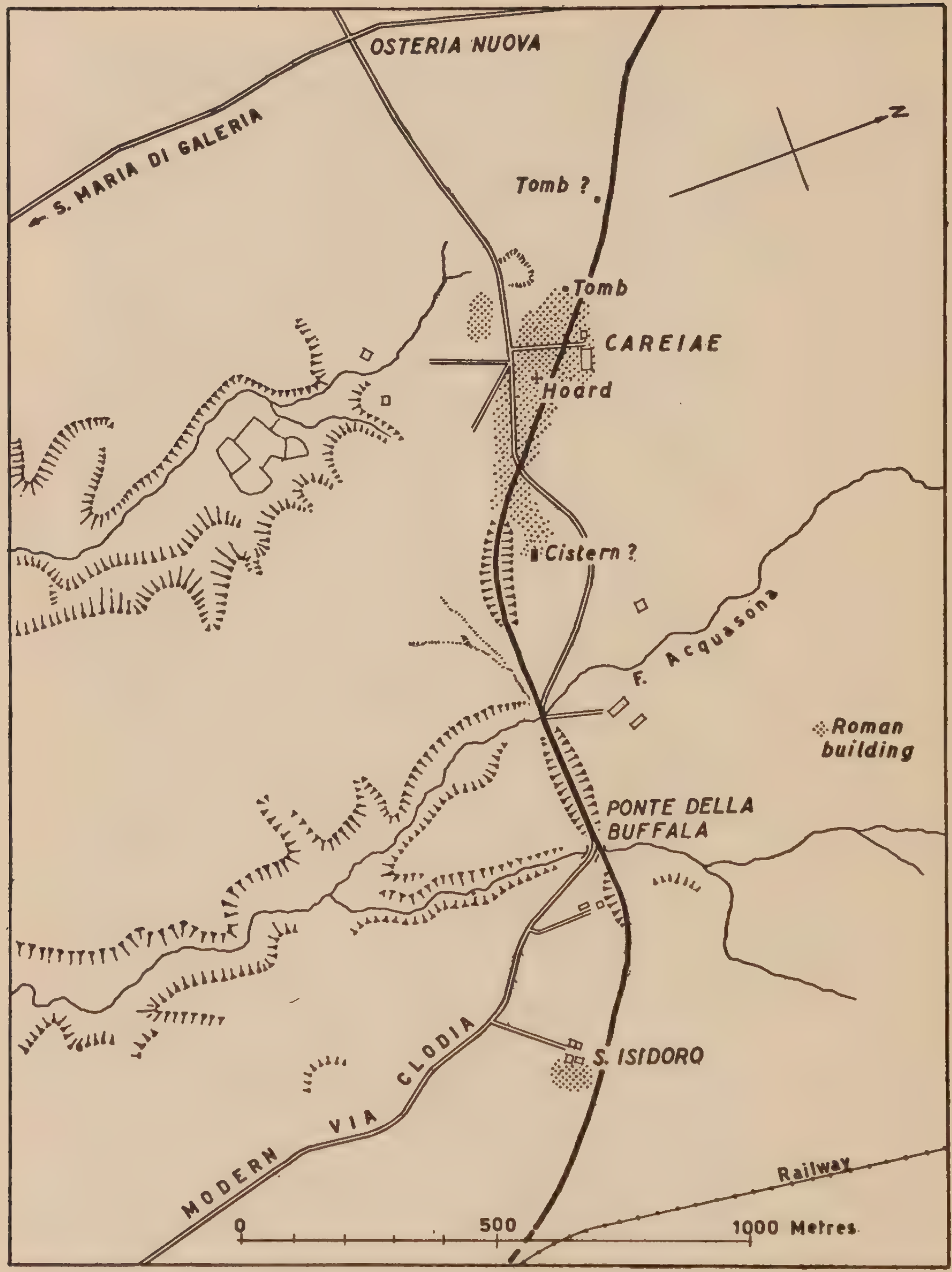


FIG. 8.—THE VIA CLODIA BETWEEN THE CHAPEL OF SANT' ISIDORO AND OSTERIA NUOVA (for comparison with Plate XV.)

della Buffala from the Fosso dell'Acquasona, though widened to carry modern traffic, is undoubtedly of ancient origin. Some 500 metres to the right of the road at this point, on the crest of the low ridge between the upper streams of the Acquasona and the Buffala, are the remains of a Roman building, perhaps a small farmstead, the only surviving structure of which is what appears to have been a rectangular concrete tank. Finds from this site (the modern Colonia Trucchia, Casale No. 1) include squared blocks of tufa, a quantity of brick (including a brick-stamp of the mid-second century, Appendix, No. 7), a few small fragments of Luna marble, and the greater part of a marble funerary inscription (Appendix, No. 2; Pl. XXI, *b*). Near by were found the six fragmentary terracotta plaques illustrated on Plate XX, *a*.

So far the line of the road was more or less determined by the nature of the country through which it had to pass. A line farther to the north would have carried it too far afield, whereas any substantial deviation to the south would have involved it in the difficult country that lies immediately to the north of Rome, between the Via Aurelia and the Via Cassia. The curving line followed by the Via Triumphalis to its junction with the Via Cassia at Casale La Giustiniana (Kilo 13·6 on the Via Cassia), by the Via Cassia from La Giustiniana to La Storta, and by the Via Clodia from La Storta to Ponte della Buffala coincides almost exactly with the watershed between those streams that drain south-eastwards, reaching the Tiber above Ponte Milvio, and those that flow south or south-west, passing to the west of the Vatican and the Janiculum and joining the river well below the city, or flowing directly into the sea. The headwaters of both groups lie in the range of volcanic hills of which the Lakes of Bracciano and Martignano and the former lake of Baccano are three of the extinct craters; and, in the area to south of these lakes and west of the Via Cassia, the lie of the land and the alternation of hard and soft rocks in the subsoil are such that, whereas for a distance of 6–8 kilometres southwards from the lakes the drainage is all superficial, with the streams cutting narrow gulleys, 10–12 feet deep in places, but narrow and easily bridged except near the sources, south of this limit they break through the shelf of hard rock, to find softer rock beneath, and plunge suddenly into the deep gorges, with precipitous, wooded sides, which even today make this one of the least accessible districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome. For the first 5 kilometres of its independent course the Via Clodia almost exactly follows the northern limit of this difficult country. Only after rounding the head of the Acquasona gorges was it free to strike off on an independent line towards Le Crocicchie and the natural gap in the low range of hills that runs southwestwards from the southern extremity of Lake Bracciano.

Immediately after crossing the Ponte Acquasona (adjoining the north abutment there are the remains of a Roman building in characteristic *selce* concrete, but no trace remains of the ancient bridge itself), the modern road swings away to the right, round the shoulder of the low hill that blocks the direct path. The ancient road followed a more direct line, through a deep cutting, rejoining the line of the modern road on the far side of the hill, only to cross it at an oblique angle, bearing off to the right in a west-north-westerly direction. At this point, for a distance of some 600 metres on either side of the road, can be seen what little now remains above ground of the road-station of *Careiae* (for the name, see p. 68). The only buildings still standing above ground are a rectangular structure, possibly a water-tank, on the crest of the hill to the left of the modern road at the extreme east end of the site, and the core of a small tomb at the far end of the site, beside the line of the ancient road. The former, which measures 13 × 4·6 metres, is of a hard concrete with *selce* aggregate; any facing that it may once have had has now disappeared. The latter, of a similar concrete, measures *c.* 2·70 metres square and was faced with *opus reticulatum* in *selce*. There are the shapeless remains of what may have been another similar tomb, some 120 metres farther to the west; and what may be the remains of yet another, a short distance to the right. Air-photographs suggest that until recently there was at least one other structure visible above ground, very close to the site of the modern farmhouse (Casale No. 1 of the Colonia Pianesi); and there was a great deal below ground until the autumn of 1954, when the greater part of the site was ploughed to a depth of a metre and planted with vines. In addition to the paving-blocks of the road, this operation brought to the surface a motley assortment of antiquities: blocks of tufa; a great many tiles, mostly seemingly of local manufacture, and only in one case bearing a damaged brick-stamp; a little brick (the normal building-material was evidently *selce*); parts of two rotary querns; water-piping in terracotta and in lead; a rich variety of marble veneer, including red and green porphyry, Numidian marble, Skyros marble, and mouldings of *rosso antico*; a part of a Tuscan capital, of travertine (diameter of abacus 46 cm.); part of a Corinthian pilaster-capital of Luna marble (Pl. XIX, *d*; measurement across the base, when complete, *c.* 48 cm.); a column-base of Luna marble (Pl. XIX, *a*; diameter 53 cm.) the upper part of a worn marble herm, now headless, figuring a satyr wearing a *nebris*; a small, very worn marble head; a terracotta antefix (Pl. XX, *b*); [24] a number of weights; and a large quantity of domestic pottery, including a little black-glazed ware (Types A and D) and a great deal of *terra sigillata* and other wares datable to the early Empire. An isolated building some 200 metres down the slope, to the south of the modern road, was evidently of some architectural pretensions. In addition to tiles and bricks, marble veneer (Luna marble), red and yellow painted plaster, chunks of *opus signinum* and of paving in black-and-white mosaic and *opus spicatum*, all suggestive of a fairly well-to-do house, with an associated bath-building, there are the elements of what appears to be a more monumental structure—large tufa blocks, the angle of a marble cornice (Pl. XIX, *b*; height 28 cm.), a small square marble base, paving blocks of white marble, and heavy white marble veneer. The only recognisable brick-stamp (Appendix, No. 6) does not appear to have been previously recorded. The Corinthian pilaster-capital described above may well have come originally from this building. Just to the right of the ancient road, near the middle of the site, was found a large coin-hoard. The coins, which were found buried in a pot, range from the middle of the first century to the middle of the third. They will be published by the Superintendency of Antiquities for Southern Etruria.

For a kilometre after leaving this site the line of the road is plainly visible on air-photographs (Pl. XV), and it can be followed on the ground as a thin scatter of *selce* fragments, crossing the plough to a point (Carta d'Italia, Pt. 142) some 700 metres up the road leading from Osteria Nuova to the railway station of Cesano. Here it crosses the line of the branch-aqueduct brought by Benedict XIV in 1749 from the Acqua Paola to Santa Maria di Galeria, and strikes out across the flat meadows bordering the Arrone, where it is no longer visible on the ground, but can be seen on air-photographs running north-westwards to the river at a point immediately south of its junction with the tiny tributary that joins it from the east (Pt. 141). There is no trace of the ancient bridge; but across the stream the line is picked up by a gently curving terrace, up which the road was carried on to the higher ground beyond; and from this point onwards the road is still clearly visible throughout its length (except for short gaps) both on air-photographs and on the ground.

---

[24] Cf. *Studi Etruschi*, x, 1936, pl. XXVII, 6 (from Caere). The type is stated by Andren to be late Republican (*Architectural Terracottas from Etrusco-Italic Temples*: Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom, vi, 1940, p. ccxxxiii).

The stretch of road immediately beyond the Arrone, for a distance of some 600 metres, has been heavily ploughed recently, and for most of its length the gully that is visible in the air-photographs of 1944 is now only a slight, and in places barely distinguishable, hollow, containing numerous broken fragments of *selce*. Several hundred metres to the left of the road, on the gentle slopes looking south and east across the Arrone meadows, there is what is probably the concrete terrace of a substantial early Imperial villa; and immediately to the right, just after passing a small modern quarry, there is a liberal scatter of Roman building material, in particular of roof-tiles, one of which bears an unidentified stamp (Appendix, No. 8). The line of the road here runs almost dead straight for nearly 3 kilometres. After leaving the plough, it crosses the field behind a large modern farm as a well-marked gully, and is picked up beyond the Fosso della Casaccia as a substantial boundary wall of *selce*, most of it broken up, but including some unmistakable paving-blocks.

This wall crosses the road from Osteria Nuova to Anguillara 800 metres north of the old farmhouse of La Casaccia (the crossing is marked by a pair of pine-trees, a prominent landmark, and a short distance beyond, on the left, there is a small Roman site, marked by blocks of tufa and a scatter of tiles and pottery); and it continues in a straight line with only minor deviations for nearly 2 kilometres farther, crossing the railway-line to join the track that links the railway-station of Anguillara with the modern Via Clodia at Le Crocicchie. At the junction it swings to the left, following the line of the modern track in a direction slightly south of west, and after another 1·5 kilometres, shortly after crossing the Fosso Pietroso (at this point a shallow brook), it once more swings to the left, joining the old road from Anguillara itself to Le Crocicchie.

This is the part of the ancient road that is best preserved. There is a short stretch of *selce* paving still in position at, and immediately after, the crossing of the Fosso Pietroso, and another, 150 metres long and almost perfectly preserved, south of the junction with the Anguillara–Crocicchie road (Pl. XVII, *a*). The road surface, heavily rutted with wheel-tracks, is here almost exactly 4 metres across, with a low kerb of *selce* on either side. There is no trace of any special bedding. The massive *selce* paving-blocks, packed with earth and *selce* chips, were laid directly in a trench, of the required width and up to 60 cm. deep; and one can well see how it is that, where the paving-blocks have been removed, it is this trench that constitutes the most enduring trace of a vanished road, either as a hollow on the surface, or as a soil-mark, or crop-mark, visible from the air.

Two ancient sites call for brief mention in this stretch. The one (marked 'Ruderi' on the Carta d'Italia) lies on the left-hand side of the road, immediately after the crossing of the Fosso Pietroso. The upstanding remains are those of a barrel-vaulted structure of concrete faced with brick, now so ruinous and overgrown that it is hard to distinguish the plan in any detail. A rough foundation exposed in the bank of the road shows that the building once extended towards the stream; and, to judge from the quantities of marble veneer, including white Greek marble and a dark, yellowish-brown, onyx-marble, probably from the Maremma, it was of a certain elegance. The scattered debris around it includes roof-tiles and domestic pottery. The other site, a little over a kilometre up the Anguillara road to the right, is the striking ruin known (from the dedication of the chapel that it housed in the Middle Ages) as Le Mura di Santo Stefano (Pl. XVII, *b*). Ashby, who published the only substantial account of this remarkable building,[25] which still stands in places three storeys high, thought that it might have been a store-house; and he compared the brickwork with that of Hadrian's villa. But subsequent excavation (seemingly unpublished) within the building has revealed traces of elaborate veneering in variegated, imported marbles (including porphyry and the onyx-marble described above), and there are columns of cipollino and of granite and glass tesserae that come probably from vault-mosaics. There can be little doubt of its domestic character, and the decorative brickwork of the external façade (Pl. XVIII), with its three elaborate orders and contrasting colours (the brickwork of the pilasters is of a darker colour than the rest) suggest a date rather later than Hadrian: the closest parallels would seem to be with wealthy mausolea of the third quarter of the second century, like the Tomb of Annia Regilla.[26] As to the purpose of this unusual building, one can only suggest that it may have been the central block of the residential wing of a wealthy *villa rustica*. Although there does not seem to be any close parallel at quite so early a date, such several-storeyed blocks were a feature of the villas of later antiquity; and despite the depredations of the centuries and the recent encroachments of the mechanical plough, it can still be seen to be the centre of what must once have been a far larger complex of buildings; and grouped around it on the adjoining ridges are the remains of several smaller sites, the agricultural purpose of which is attested by the numerous fragments of dolia.[27] The site was accessible both from the Anguillara road, which, though never paved, is almost certainly an ancient country track, and directly from the Via Clodia. That, at any rate, would seem to be the explanation of a feature, clearly visible on the air-photographs as a dark streak and here and there on the ground as a narrow depression, which leaves the Via Clodia at the point where it bends south-westwards and heads straight for the south end of the site, following exactly the same alignment as the long, straight stretch of road already described. Just to the right of this track, on the hill-top 300 metres after leaving the Via Clodia, Mr. R. G. Goodchild found the fragmentary terracotta antefix illustrated in Plate XX, *c*.

After joining the Via Clodia, the track from Anguillara crosses the railway and joins the modern main road at the derelict farmhouse of Le Crocicchie (Kilo 14), whence it once continued in a generally south-westerly direction, past the ruins of a very large, terraced, Roman villa, Le Muracciole, and on eventually to Caere. Only a short stretch of this, some 800 metres in all, is common to the Via Clodia. Although the modern track has shifted 10–20 metres to the left immediately after the well-preserved section of paving described on p. 65, the ancient road is clearly visible as a hollow way, strewn with *selce* blocks, running past the remains of a small rectangular structure, probably a tomb (featureless, except for the liberal use of tile in the concrete core, suggesting a relatively late date), and so down the hill to cross the headwaters of the Fosso del Bagno, at this point an insignificant seasonal trickle. Here the line of the Via Clodia parts company with the Anguillara track. The latter carries straight on, across the railway; the former bears off to the right, curving gently over the shoulder of the hill towards the railway-station of Le Crocicchie. Near the crest of the hill a short stretch of the road could still be seen in the autumn of 1954, almost intact amidst the surrounding ploughland; and the whole line was strewn with paving-blocks, dragged to the surface by recent ploughing.

---

[25] Ashby, 1907, pp. 311–23. Except for Ashby's outline plan, the only survey of this remarkable building remains that of Pirro Ligorio in Bodleian *Cod. Canonici Ital.*, 138, f. 119v, 122v, 122r, 112r, 112v (in that order).

[26] The surviving brickwork of the outer faces is not readily accessible for measurement. The dimensions given by Ashby (p. 313, note 2) refer to secondary, internal faces, which were never meant to be seen, and they are of little value for chronological purposes.

[27] The most substantial of these lies about 800 metres to the north-east, and is marked by the remains of a vaulted tank, of brick-faced concrete (3-cm. bricks, ten courses to 51) roofed with *opus signinum*. The debris scattered around includes bricks and roof-tiles, blocks of tufa, segmental bricks from the columns of a small brick colonnade, red wall-plaster, remains of paving in black-and-white mosaic and *opus spicatum*, dolia, and domestic pottery. A smaller deposit of dolia and roof-tiles can be seen slightly more to the north of east, about 350 m. from the main ruins.

Just before reaching the railway-embankment, immediately beyond the nameless tributary of the Fosso della Caduta, there are the remains of a substantial Roman site, probably a farmhouse, partly destroyed by recent ploughing, but still preserving the barrel-vaulted concrete substructures of what appears to have been a terraced building of some size. The remains include fragments of uprooted walling (of tufa reticulate with brick details), a travertine column-drum 50 cm. in diameter, segmental bricks from the columns of a small brick colonnade, roof-tiles, fragments of paving in *opus spicatum*, and a certain amount of domestic refuse. The vaulted substructures are lined in *opus signinum* and evidently served as water-tanks, fed from a large cistern 50 metres up the slope. This consisted of a pair of barrel-vaulted tanks, each about 22 × 2·90 metres, set side-by-side, with seven or eight arched openings between them. The aggregate of the concrete consists exclusively of small blocks of *selce*.

After crossing the railway the line of the ancient road can be picked up at the old bridge immediately below the station of Le Crocicchie (Kilo 14·6). At this point the main road and the railway both follow the line of one of the headwater tributaries of the Fosso della Caduta, to climb to the higher ground that runs south-westward from the south end of Lake Bracciano. Until shortly before the war the road made an awkward double bend to cross the stream just below the station; and the old bridge, though not itself of Roman construction, marks the position of its Roman predecessor. Unlike the modern road, the Roman road did not follow the main valley-bottom, but struck off to the left, following a shallower and rather steeper side-valley some 200 metres to the south. The line, clearly visible in war-time air-photographs,[28] could still be traced in the autumn of 1954, here and there as a still-visible depression, but for the greater part as a line of ploughed-out paving-blocks. These are rapidly disappearing (the writer watched some of them being broken up to mix into the concrete footings for the fencing of the new Agricultural Centre), and soon there will be little or no trace of this stretch other than a thin scatter of *selce* fragments along the valley-bottom. On the low crest to the right of the road, immediately past the Agricultural Centre, there is an ancient site, marked by a long scatter of tiles and a little poor, late pottery. Then, as the road nears the crest, where the effects of erosion and ploughing have been most severe, all certain

[28] 5 CM 649. 4164.

trace is lost on the ground, although in 1954 there were still a few paving-blocks dumped by the side of the modern track, awaiting removal. From the air-photographs it seems that the road followed a gently rising course, winding with the contours, to join the modern road and the railway in the narrow saddle that marks the end of the rise (Kilo 16·5). About a kilometre beyond this point a stretch of the ancient road was uncovered in 1891,[28a] skirting the erstwhile swampy lake of Mare Morto, some 200 metres east of the present road, which follows a more direct course across the bed of the lake; and from here to Bracciano the ancient and the modern lines are roughly coincident, and do not concern the present note.

From what has been said in the foregoing account of the course of the Roman Via Clodia between Kilo 3 and Kilo 16·5 of the modern Via Clodia Braccianese, it will already be clear that the identification of this new line involves the reassessment of a number of related problems. It may very well be true, as Ashby suggested,[29] that the country road from Anguillara to Le Crocicchie is part of an ancient track linking Caere with the country to the north and east of the lakes of Bracciano and Martignano; but the paving that he saw to the north-east of Le Crocicchie was not that of a *diverticulum* of the Via Clodia following this ancient line, but that of the Via Clodia itself. Ashby and his predecessors were also right in claiming as Roman the stretch of road running east and west past the farmhouse of Tragliatella (to the south of the modern main road, west of Galeria); [30] but it cannot have left the Via Clodia, as it does today, at Kilo 9·75, since at this point the ancient road lay 2 kilometres to the north of the line of its modern successor. It is probably to be interpreted as a part of the road linking Galeria (and so ultimately Veii) with Caere; and if so, like the road from Anguillara to Le Crocicchie, it may very well be an element in the pre-Roman road-system of this part of Southern Etruria.

Further work on the ground, however, is needed before these and other similar possibilities can be usefully discussed. For the present it must be enough to have established the true line of the Via Clodia and, as a corollary, the true position of the road-station that has hitherto been identified with Osteria Nuova. The name of this road-station, *Careiae*, is attested by Frontinus and in the Itineraries.[31] That this name applied rather to the site of Galeria Vecchia, 3 kilometres to the south-west, and that the road-station was known as *ad Careias*, is an unsupported conjecture of Nibby.[32] It is not even certain (although it seems probable) that there was any substantial settlement on the site of Galeria Vecchia in classical times. The earliest mention of the name *Galeria* dates from the early ninth century.[33] Thereafter records are frequent, and in the twelfth century we find the counts of Galeria involved in a dispute with the church of Santa Maria Nuova in Rome over the possession of a certain *massa Careia*, the territories of which are defined as the land lying on either side of the Via Clodia between the Rivers Arrone and Galeria.[34] The modern Valle Galeria is the deep valley to the east of Santa Maria di Galeria, below the Ponte dell'Acquasona, and it is evident, therefore, not only that the names of Careiae and of Galeria signified two distinct entities, but that as late as the twelfth century the former name was still attached to its ancient territory. Whether there was any actual continuity between the Roman road-station and the medieval estate we have no means of telling. What is certain is that, whether or not there was already a settlement on the site of the medieval Galeria, the site on the main road, following a pattern as familiar in antiquity as it is today, became in time an independent community—of no very great wealth or importance, but of sufficient substance to figure in the Itineraries and to enjoy a modest prosperity under the earlier Empire. Such road-side communities were the product of a time of security and safe travel, and they were very sensitive to the sort of trouble that is foreshadowed in the burial and abandonment of a large coin-hoard; although we have no precise evidence on this point, we may guess that by the time of the barbarian invasions, if not before, the bulk of the inhabitants had withdrawn to the safety of the precipitous cliffs surrounding the medieval Galeria.

[28a] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1891, pp. 371–2.

[29] Ashby, 1907, p. 311; 1927, pp. 235–6.

[30] Ashby, 1907, p. 324; 1927, p. 234.

[31] Frontinus, *Aq.* 71; *Itin. Ant.* p. 300, 2; *Tab. Peut.* 5, 4; Geogr. Rav. 274.8.

[32] Nibby, p. 97. Tomassetti (p. 35) and Ashby (1927, p. 234) both follow Nibby in identifying *Careiae* with Galeria Vecchia.

[33] P. F. Kehr, *Italia Pontificia*, i, 1896, p. 167 (temp. Paschal I, 817–24).

[34] Nibby, pp. 97–8; Tomassetti, p. 37.

Why and when the Via Clodia should have forsaken its ancient course in favour of a line farther to the south, we do not know. It was certainly long before the revival of cartography, since Cingolani's map of 1704 shows the new line firmly established, and gives no hint of the old. What seems to be reasonably certain is that the change took place, not as the result of any specific action of central authority, but as the result of a shift in the pattern of local habitation and of local communications, taking place, it may well be, over a very considerable period of time. Once again, one would look most naturally, to the emergence of a new order after the upheavals of the earlier Middle Ages. Bound up with the change of line is the establishment of a new cross-road site, bearing the significant name of Osteria Nuova. In this case we may be sure that the growing importance of the property of Santa Maria di Celsano (commonly known as Santa Maria di Galeria), which passed during the course of the sixteenth century into the hands of the wealthy Collegium Germanicum et Hungaricum, confirmed, if it did not establish, the importance of the site where the direct and easy road from S. Maria crossed the main road and forked for Anguillara and Cesano. It was along the line of the Cesano Road that Benedict XIV in 1749 allowed a branch of the Acqua Paola to be brought to serve the *latifundium S. Mariae in Coelsano*; and it was in the courtyard of Osteria Nuova that the College established the fountain that still bears his coat-of-arms and the inscription recording his benefaction.

J. B. Ward Perkins

APPENDIX

by Martin Frederiksen

I. INSCRIPTIONS

1. Block of Luna marble, 1·25 × 0·63 × 0·35; lettering in lapidary capitals (l. 1, 0·095; l. 2, 0·08) of early Imperial period, much worn. Re-used as a bench in front of the chapel of S. Isidoro, beside the ancient line of the Via Clodia; see p. 59.

EX TESTAMENTO SẸ[
ARBITRATV HEREDVM

2. Seven fragments of a slab of Luna marble. Four are contiguous (*a*), forming the bottom right-hand corner (0·41 × 0·28 × 0·045); another is from the top right-hand corner (*b*); two are unplaceable (*c*, *d*). Lettering in third–fourth-century capitals, *c.* 0·045. Ploughed up about 500 metres to the north of the Via Clodia at Ponte della Buffala (the modern Colonia Trucchia, Casale No. 1, see p. 63). Plate XXI, *a*.

]C̣Ị IN
(*a*) COMP]ARABILI MILITI COR
NICVLA]RIO TRIBVNI CHOR[I
VR]ḄAN[A]E

(*b*)]ODI (*c*)]IVL[

(*d*)]C̣Ḷ[

3. Right-hand side of a small panel of Luna marble, 0·26 × 0·18 × 0·025; lettering, *c.* 0·04. Found on the line of the southernmost of the two roads leading from the north-west gate of Veii, about 200 metres east of the Via Cassia at Kilo 20.

]S IVCVNDVS
A]NN. XXVII

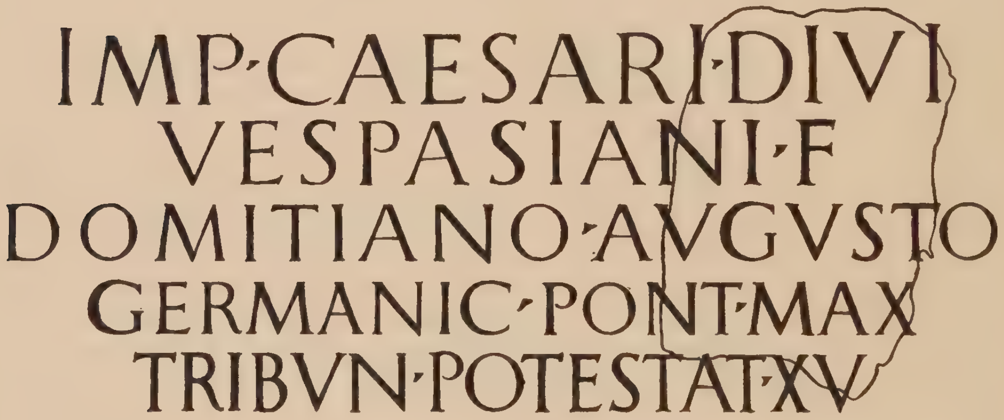


Fig. 9.—Inscription No. 4.

4. Fragment (0·30 × 0·42 × 0·04) from the right-hand margin of a slab of Luna marble; lettering in lapidary capitals, l. 1, 0·073; l. 2, 0·068; l. 3, 0·064; l. 4, 0·058. Found on a site above the Via Flaminia, near the sixth milestone (Kilo 9), see below. Plate XXI, *a*; Fig. 9.

IMP . CAESAR]I DIVI
VESPASIA]NI . F
DOMITIANO . A]VGVSTO
GERMANIC . PO]NT . MAX
TRIBVN . POTES]ṬẠT . X̅V̅

l. 2: the surviving letters are not sufficiently crowded to permit the restoration of NERVAE TRAIANI, nor spaced enough to make probable either HADRIANI or ANTONINI (see Fig. 9).

l. 3: there is no sign of erasure, which may, however, have involved only the name DOMITIANO, cf. *ILS* 246; alternatively, the slab may have been cut but never used for its original purpose. For Domitian's *damnatio memoriae*, see Suet. *Dom.* 23.1, and Corradi in *Diz. Epigr.* ii, p. 2000. This is the most frequently attested form of Domitian's titles (see Corradi, p. 2030).

l. 5: the top strokes of the T's and the apex of the A are certain on the stone. Domitian's fifteenth *tribunicia potestas* appears to have been recorded hitherto only on coins.

The site on which were found the above inscription, and the two brick-stamps and two fragments of inscribed dolia recorded below (Nos. 10–12), was briefly recorded by Ashby in 1921 (*JRS* xi, 1921, p. 141 and notes 2 and 3). Since then further quarrying and the ploughing of the land above the quarries has revealed much fresh material.

The reservoirs are now exposed, and are shown to be an extensive system of passages laid out on a grid-shaped plan at two distinct levels. The upper series, stated by Ashby to have been lost to sight, are now once more exposed and can be seen to have discharged into the lower series, whence the villa above drew its water by a well-shaft. Further along the quarry-face the *cuniculus* supplying the cisterns has been revealed as a small conduit in the soil, about 1 metre × 30 cm., leading from a spring some 100 metres away, which is now at a considerably lower level than before because of the quarrying operations.

The site above, on an open shelf between the knoll housing the well-shaft and the cliffs overlooking the road, when ploughed brought to light the above inscription and much other material from a building which may have been of some pretensions: a square column-base of travertine; a moulded column-base of marble, cut in one piece with the lower part of the fluted shaft; two column-drums in coarse local tufa, one fluted and one plain; many fragments of marble veneer and of mosaic; and much domestic refuse and pottery, including fragments of several dolia. The bricks may support Ashby's suggestion of a later restoration.

For the brick-stamps and dolia-stamps from this site, see below, Nos. 10–12.

II. BRICKSTAMPS (Nos. 5–11) AND DOLIA (No. 12)

5. $\text{]S SP}\underparen{\text{VRIL}}\text{IA[}$

Circular impress. *CIL* XV.1.666. Found beside the Via Veientana; see p. 51.

6. $\text{PROC}\underparen{\text{IL}}\text{IA}$
HERMIONE

Quadrate impress. Found on site opposite the road-station on the Via Clodia to the south of the modern road at Kilo 6·3 approx.; see p. 64. Pl. XX, *d*.

7. C . NV]NN FORT [PRIM

Lunate impress. *CIL* XV.1.862. Mid-second century. Found on site 500 metres north of the Via Clodia at Ponte della Buffala (Colonia Trucchia, Casale no. 1); see above p. 63.

8.]III M O[

Quadrate impress. Found on a site beside the ancient line of the Via Clodia, just west of the R. Arrone, see above p. 65.

9. C IVLI FELICIS

Quadrate impress. Mid-second century, cf. *CIL* XV.1.683. Found at Colonia Gianni. on the estate of the Collegium Germanicum, near Santa Maria di Galeria.

10. VICCIANIS
TONNEI DE FIGLIN

Semicircular impress. *CIL* XV.1.659, c. Mid-first century. Found at site near the sixth milestone of the Via Flaminia, see No. 4, above.

11. DE] PRAEDIS L IVL[I URSI VALERI FLAC
SALA]RESE [A TAVRIONE

Lunate impress. *CIL* XV.1.521. Time of Hadrian, cf. Bloch, *Bolli Laterizi*, p. 181. Found at same site as No. 10.

12. Two fragments of dolia, terracotta.
(*a*)]EROTIS
(*b*)]FENI . I[

Both are raised letters in stamped impress on rim. Found at same site as No. 10.

THE ENFRANCHISEMENT OF CISALPINE GAUL

(1) BEFORE 89 B.C.

AT the time of the outbreak of the Social War in 91 B.C. there were many types of political organisation in Cisalpine Gaul. First, there were the Roman colonies of Mutina, Parma, and Eporedia. Secondly, there were the large areas of land south of the Po in Liguria and centred on the chief highway in Aemilia which were already occupied by Roman citizens in the Pollia tribe, but where urbanisation was a more or less spontaneous development and where there was certainly not the elaborate political organisation of the colonies. Thirdly, there were the Latin colonies of Ariminum, Placentia, Cremona, Bononia, and Aquileia.[1] We may say that all this territory was occupied by settlers of Roman or Latin origin, with the reservation that in Liguria, where the colonised land was probably not so extensive or so continuous as in Aemilia, there may still have been a considerable number of the former inhabitants living in association with the Romans. Archaeological investigation has not yet told us whether there were two separate inhabited sites in each case, but the doubling of place-names (Industria–Bodincomagus, Potentia–Carreum, Sedulia?–Vardagate) may indicate that the Ligures were allowed some kind of separate political organisation and local centres near to, but distinct from, the centres created by the Romans to serve the needs of their *ager*. If there were two separate inhabited sites and organisations, however, these did not remain independent of each other for long. Certainly after 89 B.C. Romans and native peoples formed single communities.

The remaining areas of Cisalpine Gaul were occupied by peoples organised on a tribal basis (e.g. the Ligurian tribes, the Celtic tribes such as the Insubres and the Cenomani), or in cities, either standing alone (e.g. Ravenna) or joined in leagues (e.g. perhaps the Veneti). These peoples and cities must have had some kind of alliance with Rome. A system of alliances and agreements extended over the whole area, including probably at least parts of the southern slopes of the Alps, parts which did not receive a full municipal organisation until after the time of Caesar. The evidence for the relations between the northern peoples and Rome is scanty. The most important passage is where Cicero (*pro Balbo* XIV. 32) says, 'etenim quaedam foedera exstant, ut Cenomanorum, Insubrium, Helvetiorum, Iapydum, non nullorum item ex Gallia barbarorum, quorum in foederibus exceptum est, ne quis eorum a nobis civis recipiatur'. Cicero does not include the Ligures in this list, and the only information we have about their formal relations with Rome (apart from the frequently mentioned friendship with Genua which Rome maintained) is from Strabo, who says (IV. 6. 3. 203), 'κατέλυσαν ἅπαντας, καὶ διέταξαν αὐτοὶ τὰς πολιτείας, ἐπιστήσαντες φόρον (οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι)'—a passage which raises many problems but which probably refers to the second century B.C. (although perhaps only to the westernmost of the Ligures). As for relations with the Veneti, we know that these allowed of considerable interference by Rome in the matter of *territoria*. Boundary stones between Ateste and neighbouring states, erected by Roman proconsuls who were sent 'ex senatus consulto' to supervise the establishment of boundaries, date from 135 and from 116 or 141 B.C. (*CIL* V. 1. 2490–2). Earlier still, in 174, a negotiator was sent by the Roman senate to compose factional strife in Patavium, apparently at the request of the people of Patavium itself (Livy, XLI. 27),[2] and it is for 178 that we have the first mention of troops being levied in Cisalpine Gaul (Livy, XLI. 5).[3] The roads built throughout the region represent in themselves an imposition on local liberties, and they were one of the chief instruments in the less deliberate Romanisation to which the Po country came to be exposed. We know also that the coast road in Liguria with a strip of land just over one and a half miles wide was guaranteed by the peoples through whose lands it passed to be safe for travellers (Strabo, IV. 1. 5. 180; 6. 3. 203). Probably such provisions were not necessary in the safer parts of Venetia, but they may have been paralleled in the case of roads running through the Apennines and along the Alpine foothills.

---

[1] The problem of the colony of Dertona was discussed *PBSR* XX, 1952, p. 68.

The picture to be constructed from these few scraps of evidence cannot be detailed enough to enable us to decide whether the grievances of the other inhabitants of Italy which caused the Social War to break out were shared by the people of the north. Although the change in political status which was carried out by Pompeius Strabo in 89 points to previous agitation for improvements, there is very little to suggest that the Romans had to fight at all in the Po region. There is in fact no explicit mention of the participation of any of the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul. Livy (*Per.* LXXII) says 'Italici populi defecerunt: Picentes, Vestini, Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, Samnites, Lucani'. Appian, on the other hand, says of the events of the year 90 B.C., 'καὶ τάδε μὲν ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἦν τὴν περὶ τὸν Ἰόνιον. αἰσθόμενοι δ' αὐτῶν οἱ ἐπὶ θάτερα τῆς Ῥώμης Τυρρηνοὶ καὶ Ὀμβρικοὶ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ αὐτοῖς ἔθνη γειτονεύοντα, πάντες ἐς ἀπόστασιν ἠρεθίζοντο' (*BC* I. 49). As Appian himself goes on to show, the enthusiasm for revolt among the Etruscans was brought to an end by the grant of citizenship to Italians who were still loyal. It has been thought, however, that the passage may be a hint of revolt against Rome by peoples to the north of Etruria and Umbria. W. Kubitschek,[4] starting from the two hypotheses that the whole Cispadana was given full franchise in 89, and that peoples who fought against Rome in the Social War were placed in a specially selected group of eight tribes in which they always remained, maintained that Genua and Veleia (in the Galeria tribe like Pisa and Luna) fought against Rome. On these grounds he had also to consider Brixellum (tribe Arnensis) a rebel town, which is most unlikely. Also into the list should go Albintimilium (Falerna),[5] and perhaps Dertona.[6] The participation of any of these towns in the war is most improbable, and indeed

---

[2] 'M. Aemilio senatus negotium dedit, ut Patavinorum in Venetia seditionem conprimeret, quos certamine factionum ad intestinum bellum exarsisse et ipsorum legati attulerant. . . . Patavinis saluti fuit adventus consulis.'

[3] 'M. Iunius consul transire in Galliam et ab civitatibus provinciae eius, quantum quaeque posset, militum exigere iussus. . . . M. Iunius consul ex Liguribus, in provinciam Galliam transgressus, auxiliis protinus per civitates Galliae militibusque coloniis imperatis Aquileiam pervenit.'

[4] *De Romanarum tribuum origine et propagatione*, Vienna, 1882, pp. 69 and 75.

[5] The participation of this far-away little town is even more improbable than that of Brixellum, and the only way we could disregard it would be by supposing Albintimilium a late foundation, made after a change in the 'values' of the tribes. We cannot place it very late, however, because the first Roman walls date back to the first century B.C. (N. Lamboglia, *Liguria romana*, Istituto di studi romani, sezione ligure, 1939, vol. I, p. 94), and it is mentioned in Strabo's account of the region (IV. 6. 1. 202), which is generally taken to depict, in the main, pre-Augustan conditions. It is true, however, that Albintimilium may have been a stage behind other places, like Albingaunum, and so not have acquired Roman citizenship in 49 B.C. Its magistrates were *IIviri*, and this may indicate that the place acquired *Latin* rights late, that is, after 89 B.C., or else retained them longer. See below, especially n. 54.

[6] If it was founded as a Latin colony, and so gained the full franchise and membership of a tribe only in 89.

Kubitschek's general theory of tribe membership was shown long ago to be untenable.[7] As for the complete enfranchisement of the Cispadana, this will be discussed more fully below.[8] In passing we must recognise that it is strange to find Genua, Veleia, Pisa, and Luna in the same tribe, and that this can hardly be due to coincidence.

The general probabilities are certainly against the participation of the Cisalpine peoples in the Social War. Picenum was one of the centres of allied resistance, but its vicinity to the Po region was hardly likely in itself to induce rebellion, since Aemilia was widely populated by people who already had the franchise and formed a barrier between the less-favoured tribes north of the Po and the south.

(2) Pompeius Strabo

Certainly we have to explain what Pompeius Strabo was doing in Cisalpine Gaul, why indeed he ever went north from Picenum. Not only is it likely, however, that the senate judged it prudent to give a settlement to the Po region and entrusted the nearest magistrate with the job, but also we should not forget to reckon with the plans of Pompeius Strabo himself. These plans were cut short by his death, but before this he was obviously seeking an opportunity to impose his will on the Roman state (Orosius, V. 19. 10; Velleius, II. 20–1). There is no doubt that at least some sections of the Cisalpine population received benefits from Pompeius Strabo and could be considered part of his *clientela*.[9] The wish to detach this support from Pompeius Magnus was an important reason for Caesar's continued championing of the Transpadani in the following years; probably also for his colonisation of Novum Comum.[10] Another point which suggests that Pompeius Strabo was trying to establish a vast *clientela* in the region is the fact that apart from his general reorganisation we have particular hints of intervention of his over a wide area: at Comum, almost certainly Alba Pompeia and Laus Pompeia, and possibly Verona.[11] From this brief indication that Pompeius may have had a personal programme in the north we may pass to a consideration of the public policy which he carried out.

The first thing is to determine whether the *lex Pompeia* was the *lex provinciae* of Cisalpine Gaul, that is, whether the province was first created in 89 or by Sulla, as, following Mommsen, most scholars believe.[12] The latter hypothesis has no ancient authority. In our sources for the history of the years between 89 and Sulla's dictatorship Cisalpine Gaul is mentioned in the following manner: Appian (*BC* I. 66) says that in 87 Octavius and Merula 'ἐπὶ δὲ στρατίαν ἔς τε τὰς ἑτέρας πόλεις τὰς ἔτι σφῶν κατηκόους καὶ ἐς τὴν ἀγχοῦ Γαλατίαν περιέπεμπον,' and speaking of 82 he says (*ibid.* 86), 'πλέονος δ' ἀεὶ τοῖς ὑπάτοις γιγνομένου στρατοῦ ἀπό τε τῆς πλέονος 'Ιταλίας ἔτι σφίσι συνεστώσης καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς ὁμόρου περὶ τὸν 'Ηριδανὸν Γαλατίας'. Appian gives two different descriptions of the region in these passages, but even if as a province it already had an official title by 87 B.C., this would not necessarily have ousted other names from usage. Appian's use of 'Ιταλία in the second passage is the natural and normal one, in which it obviously comprised Cisalpine Gaul (hence, perhaps, τῆς πλέονος 'Ιταλίας); it does not imply that Italy in a political sense as a sphere of command still extended as far as the Alps. These passages certainly suggest that people were acting as if no provincial boundary separated Cisalpine Gaul from Italy proper, but this may well have been a consequence of civil war. There is nothing improbable in the idea that the parties tried to get troops where they could without observing all the constitutional regularities. The distinction made by Appian himself suggests a real difference between the cities of Cisalpine Gaul and those of north-central Italy. When Sulla returned to Italy Cn. Papirius Carbo was in command in the north,[13] and it is reasonable to suppose that he had obtained the province of Cisalpine Gaul. Cicero (*in Verr.* II. I. 13. 34) implies that Verres was proquaestor to Carbo in the north—in Cisalpine Gaul in fact. A further reason for supposing that Cisalpine Gaul was made a province in 89 is the very fact that the area was given a separate settlement in that year. As Chilver [14] points out, there must have been some adequate definition of the area to which Pompeius' reorganisation applied. It seems more likely then that the province was formed in 89 than that it was formed by Sulla.

---

[7] See Mommsen, *Hermes*, XXII, 1887, p. 101 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, V, 1908, p. 262.

[8] See p. 76 f.

[9] See below, p. 79 f.

[10] This colonisation may indeed have been a far more important factor in the story of the Pompeius–Caesar rivalry than is generally thought. It should be noted that Comum and Mediolanium were in the same tribe, the Oufentina, and that in fact of all inscriptions specifying membership of that tribe over one-half are attributable to these two places (*RE* XVIII, 2, 1904). The political history of Mediolanium is hard to trace, and it may even be that it was linked in some way with Comum before 49, and that as a result of a close link already established, either then or perhaps earlier both towns were placed in one tribe. See below.

[11] *Panegyricus IX Constantino Augusto* 8 reads: 'Verona maximo hostium exercitu tenebatur . . . scilicet ut, quam coloniam Cn. Pompeius aliquando deduxerat, Pompeianus everteret.' It may be, however, that this is only a reference to the granting of Latin rights to the area as a whole by the *lex Pompeia*.

[12] The best and most convincing argument against Mommsen's view is that of E. G. Hardy, 'The Transpadane question and the alien act of 65 or 64 B.C.', *JRS* VI, 1916, p. 65. He is followed by G. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul*, Oxford, 1941, p. 8. Certainly the first well-authenticated governor of the province is to be dated to 75 B.C. (Sallust, *Hist.* II. frag. 98. ed. Maurenbrecher 'sed consules a patribus provincias inter se paravere; Cotta Galliam citeriorem habuit, Ciliciam Octavius'. See, for the following year, 74, Plutarch, *Lucullus* 5. 1.) The passage in Licinianus (Teubner, p. 32) which reads 'data erat et Sullae provincia Gallia Cisalpina' remains obscure.

It is uncertain where the frontier ran. Hardy [15] suggests that the limits on the east and west coasts were the Aesis and the Arno, and that Sulla moved them farther north to the Rubicon and the Varus. Some parts left within the province may well have been suitable for inclusion in Italy, but to have brought them in would have meant the adoption of a less convenient frontier line.

What form did the *lex provinciae* take? What was the settlement imposed by Pompeius? The evidence is very slight, but we can be certain that the settlement was complex, with a different status for different communities. This is established by the passage of Pliny (*HN* III. 138) which, after giving the inscription of the Augustan trophy at Nicaea (*CIL* V. 2. 7817) reads 'non sunt adiectae Cottianae civitates XV quae non fuerant hostiles, item adtributae municipiis lege Pompeia'. Thus we know that certain tribes were attributed to more highly developed centres, although we cannot decide which all these tribes were. The settlement of Caesar in 49 may have created or abolished states and caused many alterations in boundaries, so that it is difficult to determine which communities received Latin rights in 89, where their boundaries ran, and whether their *territoria* completely covered the lowland country. The details of the earlier system have been so much obscured that we have to be content with rather general statements about this stage in the region's development.

Recently A. Ferrua [16] has restated the view that the *lex Pompeia* gave full Roman citizenship to the Cispadani and Latin rights to the Transpadani.[17] The arguments which he uses are as follows: First, after 89 we hear of demands for the citizenship only from the Transpadani; secondly, in the Pliny passage quoted above the tribes are said to be attributed to *municipia*, and since there were none of these yet in Transpadana there must have been some in Liguria; thirdly, Asconius speaking of the status of Placentia (*in Pis.* 2–3) discusses Pompeius' grant of Latin rights to what were called, though inexactly, *coloniae*, and he calls them *coloniae Transpadanae* and does not mention the Cispadana at all; fourthly, Cicero (*ad Att.* I. 1. 2) says in 65 B.C. 'videtur in suffragiis multum posse Gallia', but unless the Cispadana was enfranchised all citizens in Gaul would be voting in the Pollia tribe, with the possible exception of Dertona in the Pomptina; and fifthly, the dispute of the censors in 65 was over the Transpadani only.

---

[13] *CAH* IX, p. 270. But see also p. 196 and pp. 301 f.

[14] *loc. cit.*

[15] *op. cit.*, pp. 66–7.

[16] *Inscriptiones Italiae*, IX. Regio IX. fasc. 1. Rome, 1948, p. xiii.

[17] See also Kubitschek, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

The second point, that Pliny talks of Alpine tribes being attributed to *municipia*, is not very serious. Certainly the term *municipium* was only applicable, strictly speaking, to a town with Roman citizenship. Probably also the Pollia settlements in Liguria were not officially *municipia* until the time of Caesar even although they were composed of citizens. But the towns to which the tribes were attributed were doubtless all *municipia* in the time of Pliny, and it is probably simply a mistake on his part which has led him to give them this title when writing of an earlier period. After all, he is giving a brief and comprehensive account of the situation, and not quoting the words of the law, which probably mentioned the towns individually by name.

Ferrua's contention that Cicero's reference to the voting strength of Gaul proves that the whole Cispadana had been given the franchise is valid only if it can be shown that the Latin colonies in Cispadana and Transpadana (i.e. Placentia, Cremona, Bononia, and Aquileia) were not promoted to full citizenship in 89. There is no evidence to prove that they were not, however, and it is certainly more probable that they were. Aulus Gellius (IV. 4. 3) says 'universo Latio lege Iulia civitas data est'. It may be contended that the Cisalpine colonies were not included in this because the region had already been set apart for a settlement of its own. In fact, this was probably the case when the *lex Iulia* was passed, since, unless Cisalpine Gaul had already been separated from the rest of Italy, it is difficult to see why complete enfranchisement could not have been claimed there as in Italy. But, while the rest of the reorganisation of the area remained over for the *lex Pompeia*, the colonies may have obtained the citizenship by the *lex Iulia*, and the *lex Pompeia* is hardly likely to have reversed such an advantage. (It would certainly not be a case of the overlapping and confusion of two laws.[18]) Even if this was not the case, even if the area was altogether excluded from the operation of the general enfranchising laws, it is still highly probable that the *lex Pompeia* gave the full citizenship to these Latin colonies. There was no reason to refuse the concession, particularly since so much of Cisalpine Gaul was already settled by men who were citizens. (The description of Placentia as a *municipium* by Cicero (*in Pis.* 2) confirms the general argument.)

The first, third, and fifth contentions have a certain plausibility but no real force.[19]

---

[18] See Hardy, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–7.

[19] The mentions of the Transpadani are the following: Asconius, *loc. cit.*; Dio Cassius, XXXVII. 9, 'καὶ οἱ τιμηταὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἠριδανὸν οἰκούντων διενεχθέντες (τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἐς τὴν πολιτείαν αὐτοὺς ἐσάγειν ἐδόκει, τῷ δὲ οὐ) οὐδὲν . . . ἔπραξαν'; Cicero, *ad Fam.* VIII. 1. 2, 'illi rumores de comitiis Transpadanorum Cumarum tenus caluerunt, Romam quum venissem, ne tenuissimam quidem auditionem de ea re accepi'; *ad Att.* V. 2. 3, 'eratque rumor de Transpadanis, eos iussos IIIIviros creare, quod si ita est, magnos motus timeo'; Suetonius, *div. Iul.* 9, 'pactumque ut simul foris ille (Gnaeus Piso), ipse (Caesar) Romae ad novas res consurgerent, per Ambrones et Transpadanos'. Suetonius in c. 8 of *div. Iul.* does not speak of the Transpadani, but says 'decedens (Caesar) ergo ante tempus, colonias Latinas de petenda civitate agitantes adiit'. Similarly, in describing the supporters of Catiline, Sallust does not single out the Transpadani explicitly, but says (in c. 42 of *BC*) 'in Gallia citeriore atque ulteriore motus erat'.

The term 'Cispadani' is not found in ancient authors.

If we reject Ferrua's thesis we must indeed suppose that although there were many Cispadane communities who were not fully enfranchised, their agitation for advancement was on a negligible scale. This is easier to understand if we remember that these Cispadane regions were not as highly urbanised or probably as much affected by Roman influence and control. It may even be that for the most part they were *attributi*, or in a similar kind of dependence, and that in fact Pompeius did not give *Latin* rights to more than one or two communities south of the Po. In Aemilia the Apennine towns may well have been placed in some kind of subjection to those on the Via Aemilia, though previously independent of them.[20] In Liguria the tribes of the interior were probably *attributi*, while the only important non-attributed peoples (leaving Alba Pompeia out of the picture for the moment) may have been Genua, Albingaunum, and perhaps Albintimilium. Genua's long-standing treaty-relationship with Rome may have given her advantages greater than those gained by the acquisition of Latin rights: it is perfectly legitimate to suppose that she remained in a privileged position similar to that of Ravenna. Her position, in fact, was one which we know gave her some rights over surrounding peoples, and had done so since before 117 B.C. This is the date of the settlement recorded on the Table of Polcevera (*CIL* V. 2. 7749), which reveals a system of subordination of tribes to an urban centre (at least in certain respects) which may have influenced the Romans in their development of *attributio*. As for the other two states, it is hardly possible that they were *attributi*; they seem to have been urban centres of tribal organisations of considerable extent, and they may have been given Latin rights in 89.[21]

We may conclude, therefore, that a reasonable case can be made out for the view that Pompeius Strabo conferred Latin rights on very few if any communities south of the Po. Even if there were one or two cases where he did, we can easily explain the words of Asconius which formed the third point of Ferrua's argument, for the conferring of Latin rights was *characteristic* only in the Transpadane region.[22] The homogeneity there was perhaps one of the reasons for the solidarity of Transpadane agitation for the citizenship in the following years. In Aemilia and Liguria existing treatment differed, and doubtless grievances and aspirations differed too. Conditions there would also be modified by the large Roman citizen element already established. Among the Transpadani were three colonies only, Cremona, Eporedia, and Aquileia, and no official *viritim* colonisation.

There are also positive arguments to use against Ferrua's theory. First, two Ciceronian passages suggest that Ravenna (the most important non-Roman town in Aemilia) at least did not lose the peculiarity of a foedus relationship in the uniformity of a citizenship grant. In *pro Balbo* (XXII. 50) Cicero says 'Cn. Pompeius pater rebus Italico bello maximis gestis P. Caesium, equitem Romanum, virum bonum, qui vivit, Ravennatem, foederato ex populo, nonne civitate donavit?' Pompeius had no need to give individual grants if the whole Cispadana was enfranchised—unless it be argued that the incident took place while Ravenna was still a *foederatus populus* (that is, only just before an enfranchisement which robbed P. Caesius of the uniqueness of his distinction). In 52 B.C. Caelius wrote to Cicero (*ad Fam.* VIII. 1. 4): 'Plancus quidem tuus Ravennae est, et magno congiario donatus a Caesare nec beatus nec bene instructus est.' This perhaps means that Ravenna still had the *ius exilii*, and was therefore certainly not a *municipium* and probably did not have Latin rights either.

---

[20] See *PBSR* XX, 1952, p. 63.

[21] But see above, n. 5, for the possibility that Albintimilium did not acquire Latin rights until after 89 B.C.

Both the places are mentioned by Strabo (IV. 6. 1. 202) in a way which suggests that they were small towns of some importance, although he describes Genua as the emporium of the Ligures. Pliny (III. 46) says 'nec situs originesque persequi facile est Ingaunis Liguribus (ut ceteri omittantur) agro triciens dato'. Presumably land was given to them as it was pacified, and probably Albingaunum (and perhaps Albintimilium) had rights over the hinterland similar to those we know that Genua possessed. If we date the reference in the Strabo passage quoted above (see p. 73) to the second century B.C. we may conjecture that this type of political organisation was accompanied, at least originally, by the exaction of tribute.

[22] This, of course, was the view of Beloch, *Römische Geschichte*, 1926, p. 623.

Secondly, the inscriptional fragment from Veleia gives regulations of judicial affairs for an area called Gallia Cisalpina. It is therefore probable that the enfranchising measure covered the same area, and not simply the Transpadana.[23] Dio (XLI. 36) says of Caesar and this law, 'τοῖς Γαλάταις, τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν ῎Αλπεων ὑπὲρ τὸν ᾿Ηριδανὸν οἰκοῦσι, τὴν πολιτείαν, ἅτε καὶ ἄρξας αὐτῶν, ἀπέδωκε', but this can be explained in the same way as the passages describing Transpadane agitation for the franchise. It was the grant to the Transpadane community which attracted more attention and interest. In any case, there is no such restriction in Strabo's account (V. 1. 1. 210) 'ἔδοξε (τοῖς ῾Ρωμαίοις) καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς ῎Αλπεων Γαλάταις καὶ ᾿Ενετοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀπονεῖμαι τιμήν.'

A strong argument against Ferrua is that it becomes difficult, on his and Kubitschek's theories, to see why the Cispadana was included in the province of Cisalpine Gaul. If all the inhabitants were Roman citizens, why was the area not administered as part of Italy?[24] Hardy, though he did not take the view subsequently held by Ferrua, gives two possible reasons for the joint administration of the Cispadana and the Transpadana.[25] These are hardly adequate; there was nothing to necessitate the inclusion of all former *ager Gallicus* in one unit, neither was the Cispadana necessary to provide an administrative or cultural basis for the province or a political standard to which the rest might aspire.[26]

We know very little about the colonial foundations of Pompeius Strabo, and the subject is complicated by the fact that the towns to which Latin rights were given by him were called *coloniae*, although there was no *deductio* of fresh citizens (Asconius *in Pis.* 2–3). It is the names of Alba Pompeia and Laus Pompeia which suggest that they were founded by him. As Mommsen (*CIL* V. 2. p. 696) pointed out, the name of Laus Pompeia might have been given by Caesar in honour of his father-in-law Quintus Pompeius. This is less likely, however, particularly as Caesar seems to have done remarkably little in the way of founding settlements in Cisalpine Gaul.[27]

The evidence for Comum is more definite (Strabo V. 1. 6. 213). The public motive for the colonisation (there is not evidence for a detailed examination of Pompeius' private motives) was once again military, the need for defence against the Alpine tribes; in this case, according to Strabo, 'οἱ ὑπερκείμενοι Ῥαιτοί'. F. Frigerio[28] has shown that the colony was founded on a new site. Comum itself, the Comum *oppidum* mentioned in Livy (XXXIII. 36. 14), was undoubtedly not on the open lake side, but on one of the neighbouring hills, probably at Grandate. This site is much more probable for a Gallic town, and near by there is a large necropolis. The military demands of Rome did not require a hill site, and they preferred the lake-side, where perhaps they drained land for colonisation. The name Novum Comum is further evidence for this change of site, for the epithet seems not to have been used when there was merely a colonial settlement in an old town. The process was one frequently practised, for example, in Spain, where the native towns were moved down from strong upland positions and laid out on Roman lines in the plain. But this name Novum Comum seems to date from Caesar's colonisation, and the move to the lake-side site may not have been made by Pompeius Strabo.[29] The colony founded in 89, wherever it stood, had Latin rights. It differed from other towns in Transpadane Gaul not in political status, but in the fact that a town had been formed out of scattered villages,[30] and there had been a genuine *deductio* of new citizens.

---

[23] See below p. 91 for Caesar's legislation.

[24] This argument is even more powerful if we think that Cisalpine Gaul was made a province not in 89 B.C., but by Sulla.

(It is true that enfranchisement in 49 was not accompanied by inclusion in Italy, but circumstances were very different then.)

[25] *op. cit.*, p. 65.

[26] Many authors consider that, even although in theory similar treatment was given to Cispadane and Transpadane Gaul by the *lex Pompeia*, the actual result was to create a community almost exclusively Latin in political status north of the Po, and one almost exclusively Roman south of it. Thus Hardy says 'with the possible exception of Ravenna, the Cispadani after 89 were practically all Roman citizens'. Not only is it extremely unlikely that this was true even of the Aemilian plain; it is quite impossible to suppose it true of Liguria, once we have rejected the theory of an outright grant of Roman citizenship there. Roman and Latin rights were not sufficiently widespread in the Cispadana prior to 89 to make this reconciliation of evidence possible.

[27] See below, p. 93.

Military reasons would be sufficient to account for a comparable reorganisation of Verona, as a second guardian of the safety of the Cisalpine plain against attacks from the Alps. The only authority connecting Verona with Pompeius has already been quoted.[31] There is also the evidence of Tacitus (*Hist.* III. 8), who calls Verona a *colonia*. But in both these passages *colonia* may refer to Pompeius Strabo's grant of Latin rights only. For, since epigraphical discoveries show that Verona had IIIIviri, it was not a citizen colony, at least in the early empire.[32] Also, such a prosperous and long-established town could not have needed the *deductio* of new citizens, which was what gave Comum its peculiarity. Verona, we may conclude, became a Latin colony only in the sense in which Patavium and Mantua and Vicetia doubtless did, not in the sense in which Comum is thought to have done. Even without a *deductio* of citizens, Pompeius Strabo may have interfered to some degree in the internal affairs of Verona, and taken thought for its fortification. This seems to be the view of P. Marconi[33] and I. A. Richmond and W. G. Holford,[34] who think that the bridge over the Athesis known as the Ponte della Pietra may date from 89 B.C. It is not in alignment with the Augustan street-plan, and may therefore be anterior to it.

---

[28] 'Del sito di Comum e quello di Novum Comum' *Atti e memorie del primo congresso lombardo*, Milan, 1937, p. 1.

[29] Two aspects of Caesar's activity may thus be commemorated by Catullus' 'Novi . . . Comi moenia' (XXXV. 4), which was perhaps written when the foundation was still an item of news.

[30] Strabo's use of the word συνῳκίζειν suggests this.

[31] See n. 11.

[32] The *IIvir = colonia* and *IIIIvir = municipium* distinction still holds for most places. For references to recent studies of the evidence see H. Stuart Jones' review of Rudolph's *Stadt und Staat im römischen Italien* in *JRS* XXVI, 1936, p. 269. On Verona and its magistrates see Mommsen, *CIL* V. 1. p. 327.

The 'colonia' in Catullus XVII has been taken to be Verona (and the object of the poet's dislike to be a *municeps* or fellow-townsman of his own), but even if this identification is correct Catullus, too, might have been calling Verona a *colonia* simply because of the possession of Latin rights.

Pliny (*NH.* III. 130) calls Verona an *oppidum*, which suggests that at any rate it was not colonised by Augustus. A. L. Frothingham (*Roman Cities in Northern Italy and Dalmatia*, London, 1910, p. 247) and P. Marconi (*Verona Romana*, Bergamo, 1937, p. 158) think that Pliny made a mistake and that Verona was an Augustan colony. This will account for the fortifications and buildings which date from the Augustan age, and also for the title *colonia Augusta Verona Nova Gallieniana* on the gate built by Gallienus (*CIL* V. 1. 3329). The title *Augusta* could have been given by an emperor after Augustus, but in fact it probably does go back to an Augustan reorganisation and embellishment of the city. Verona should be compared with Mediolanium (also called Augusta—see below, p. 86) and Augusta Bagiennorum, neither of which was probably an Augustan colony. It is most likely that all these towns benefited from the interest of Augustus and were changed in accordance with the military and political needs of the time, but they lacked the essential feature of real colonisation, the settlement of new citizens.

[33] *op. cit.*, p. 30.

[34] 'Roman Verona', *PBSR* XIII, 1935, p. 69.

Either in the *lex Pompeia* itself or as a result of it, provisions for the delimitation of boundaries must have been made, and some general constitutional requirements were probably included. The towns which were given Latin rights were regarded, as we have seen, as Latin colonies, and had at their head the IIvirate, by 89 B.C. the magistracy typical of all colonial foundations.[35] Almost all of these towns, if not every one of them, acquired the IIIIvirate with Roman citizenship in 49 B.C., but there were some other towns which retained the IIvirate in 49, since they already had the full citizenship by that time. These were the old Roman colonies and the old Latin colonies promoted in 89. With these we may group the Pollia areas of Roman-settled land. These areas had before 89 lacked an elaborate administrative system, although they were almost certainly visited by *praefecti*. In 89 the place of these *praefecti* may have been taken by locally-elected *IIviri*. Such a development can be found in the old viritane-settled areas of Italy proper, although it is often dated to the Caesarian period.[36] Also in Cisalpine Gaul the change may have been later than 89, but it is perhaps worth following here the whole story of these settlements. They were later certainly known as *municipia*, but it also seems certain that they did not acquire *IIIIviri* in 49. We have evidence of *IIviri* or *aediles* from Forum Corneli in Aemilia, and from Pollentia, Industria, and Hasta in Liguria, and no evidence of *IIIIviri* from any of these Pollia towns. It therefore seems that the IIIIvirate was only given to towns which were promoted from Latin rights to full citizenship, whether this was in 89 or 49 B.C., and that the Pollia towns were either left under *praefecti* in 89 or were given *IIviri* then. Presumably it was to some of these towns that tribes were attributed in Liguria. This argues for a considerable degree of local government.

Some particular problems of magistracies and administration will have to be discussed in connection with the more detailed survey given later when Caesar's legislation is described. We might mention here, however, the question of domain-land, which yielded revenues to Italian communities. We hear of such land in Gaul, which sent *vectigalia* to Arpinum and Atella (Cic. *ad Fam.* XIII. 11. 1. and 7. 1), and Beloch[37] thought that the 'Saltus Galliani qui cognominantur Aquinates' (Pliny, *HN* III. 116) were a similar domain-area of Aquinum, but the only one which Pliny happened to mention. If this was the case it would seem from the notice in Pliny that at least by the time of Augustus some independent *municipium* had been constituted on the *saltus*. In 89, however, we must concede that there may have been several stretches of land used in this way which we have no reason to suppose were affected by the settlement of Pompeius Strabo.

There is one further respect in which the *lex Pompeia* might have seriously changed conditions; it might have instituted the centuriation of areas of the Transpadane country. In the discussion of this question we must first remember the reasons for the settlement given to Cisalpine Gaul in 89. The *lex Pompeia*, apart from its role in the personal plans of its author, was designed to satisfy claims and to allay or forestall discontent and unrest connected with the prevailing political conditions. Colonial foundations were made only for military reasons, or as part of the little urbanisation and centralisation regarded as necessary. The contrast with the purposes of Caesar's reorganisation is great. This will be discussed later; here it is enough to say that Caesar's legislation aimed among other things at solving the problem of veteran settlement in the area. This problem arose naturally, not only from the circumstance that there was room for settlement, but more particularly from the fact that the legions themselves had been heavily recruited from Cisalpine Gaul.[38] In 89 B.C. there was not this problem; there was no need for a survey of available land, still less for its use or direct administration by Rome.

---

[35] See Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.*, p. 623.

[36] See A. N. Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, Oxford, 1939, pp. 141 f.

[37] *op. cit.*, p. 613.

The areas over which centuriation can still be traced are naturally in the plain. In Aemilia centuriated land is found only in the territory of the Latin colonies and the Pollia towns.[39] In Liguria there is some centuriation in the Pollia region; elsewhere traces remain near Iria and Dertona, which were both colonised at some time, and near Augusta Bagiennorum. But here it can hardly be attributed to the age of Pompeius Strabo. Across the Po not all the traces can be attributed to towns which were colonies. In Venetia, it is true, veteran settlement on land which formerly belonged to citizens of Mantua and Patavium, for example, may have led to the centuriation there, and the traces near Acelum and between Tarvisium and Altinum may belong to the same period. In Transpadana we do not hear of such settlements, but centuriation can still be easily traced near Bergomum, Novaria, Vercellae, and Ticinum. There is no evidence that any of these places were colonised. The centuriation—probably more widespread than now appears, and perhaps already existing in many areas before colonisation or veteran settlement which simply made use of it—cannot have been a spontaneous imitation of the Roman custom by the local inhabitants. In non-colonies it must surely have been effected by legislation. But there is nothing in all this or in the list of places where traces have been found to suggest that the legislation in question was the *lex Pompeia* of 89.

The only remaining evidence is the scholiast on a passage of Lucan (IV. 462) 'Hic Opiterginis moles onerata colonis'. The scholiast writes: 'Opitergium oppidum est, quod cum Caesare sentiebat contra Pompeium. . . . Propter quod Caesar in solaciam Opiterginis in annos xx vacationem militiae dedit finesque eorum trecentis centuriis ampliavit.' This seems to imply that there was an existing stretch of centuriated land which could be reassigned among various states. It is sometimes said that Opitergium was already colonised, but this is unlikely.[40] We can, in fact, explain the language of this scholiast without recourse either to the hypothesis that Opitergium was a colony or to the theory that the *lex Pompeia* led to the centuriation of Cisalpine land. Either the terminology is simply borrowed from that made familiar by the land assignments in colonial foundations, or it was the actual terminology used at a time when Caesar's legislation was regulating all Cisalpine affairs, and causing centuriation there on a wide scale. Caesar's gift of land to the people of Opitergium may have been made in this very process of surveying and distribution.

---

[38] See Caesar, *BG* I. 24; II. 2; V. 24; VI. 1 for Caesar's troops. See also the passage of Lucan (IV. 462) discussed below. For Pompeius Magnus, see Cicero (*ad Q. f.* II. 3. 4) 'magna manus ex Piceno et Gallia exspectatur'. 'Though the interpretation of *Gallia* has been open to doubt, it is likely that Pompey was drawing on his father's *clientes* in the Po valley' (Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul*, *op. cit.*, p. 112 n.).

[39] For Brixellum early colonisation is not proved (see *PBSR* XX, 1952, p. 56), but there are not certain traces of centuriation either, and in any case the place was colonised under Augustus.

[40] See A. Vital, *Traccie di romanità nel territorio di Conegliano*, Venice, 1931, p. 19. The evidence is this passage of Lucan speaking of '*coloni*'; but this is a term not used exclusively of colonists, but sometimes of farmers in general. (The inscription (*CIL* V. 1. 331) 'patrono splendidissimae col. Aquil. et Parentinorum Opiterginor. Hemonens.' is adduced by Vital, but this raises rather than solves problems. Why is the designation 'col'. given only to Aquileia?) The magistrates are *IIIIviri*, and Pliny (III. 130) does not call it a *colonia*, but that suggests only that it was not colonised by Augustus. The scholiast himself calls the town *oppidum*, not *colonia* as we should have expected if it had been one. Mommsen (*CIL* V. 1. p. 186) did not think the place was ever colonised.

As was the case with Verona, Opitergium might have been called a *colonia* by virtue of Pompeius Strabo's grant of Latin rights in 89.

(3) CAESAR

A discussion of this problem takes us on naturally to those connected with the relations between Julius Caesar and the peoples of Cisalpine Gaul, and the changes caused by his legislation for the area. We shall start from his final settlement, referring to earlier events as the occasion arises.

(a) *The Area*

The first necessity is to determine the area to which Caesar's legislation applied, or rather, to determine the different communities which were established or confirmed as independent *municipia* by it. (This will be a lengthy process, but in the course of it light will also be shed on some related problems.) We have the list of towns of Cisalpine Gaul given by Pliny, who professes to be complete in his enumeration. It has been plausibly suggested [41] that his chief source was census lists of the Augustan period, in which appeared names of peoples (rather than places) arranged in alphabetical order. (Upon this scheme Pliny seems to have imposed the division into *regiones*, also Augustan of course, but not used in these census lists. This has led to some confusions in the account.) These peoples we are probably safe in assuming to be *municipia* of the Augustan period. Pliny obviously used other sources, however (principally a periplus perhaps written by Varro), and since these mentioned places and peoples which were not *municipia* we have to use care in determining which places were in the census lists, and were *municipia*. As for the colonies, in Italy these had the same political status as *municipia*, and so would not call for special distinction in the census lists. Pliny (III. 46) tells us that the colonies founded by Augustus himself were in fact distinguished in some way in the list, and he professes to follow this practice in his account.

This account, therefore, may enable us to construct a list of the *municipia* in Cisalpine Gaul at the time of Augustus, but we cannot suppose that conditions had remained unchanged since Caesar's time, and that we can take Pliny's account as a description of the situation brought about by his legislation. Some *municipia* may have disappeared when two small towns were included in a single *territorium* and one given jurisdiction over the other as the administrative centre of the area, while others may have been created by the subdivision of existing *territoria* and the elevation of a town which was formerly without municipal status, or by the granting of rights and independence as full citizens to peoples who were formerly *attributi*. Evidence for the first type of change is completely lacking; in the second case we can argue from the tribe-membership of the towns concerned.

We see at once that a large proportion of the thirty-five tribes is represented in Cisalpine Gaul, twenty-four. We see also that these are for the most part distributed irregularly; neighbouring towns are not in the same tribe, and if two places are in the same tribe there is often no discoverable similarity or analogy to account for this. The inference is that in the settlement of Caesar the *municipia* were placed haphazard in the tribes, perhaps with the idea of giving roughly the same numbers to certain of the thirty-five. Therefore we must look for a special reason for each case of membership of the same tribe if the towns concerned are adjacent. We shall find that the most likely explanation is that a subdivision has occurred between 49 B.C. and the second part of Augustus' reign. In the course of this investigation, therefore, we shall gradually build up a picture of Cisalpine Gaul under Caesar's settlement.

---

[41] See Rudi Thomsen, *The Italic Regions*, Classica et Mediaevalia: Dissertationes, IV, Copenhagen, 1947, p. 25.

Taking Aemilia first, our lack of information about the tribes to which the smaller centres off the road belonged makes its impossible to reach certain conclusions. We do not know if the Apennine towns, for instance, were raised from the status of *foederati* or *attributi* to full independence by Caesar or by Augustus. The former is more likely, since we have no evidence of Augustan changes of this sort. Even if evidence were to come to light that many of these towns were in the Pollia tribe, we might still maintain that they became independent in 49 and account for their being in the same tribe as most of the towns on the *Via Aemilia* (and thus making an exception to the principle Caesar seems in general to have followed) by supposing that already by the *lex Pompeia* they had been attributed to these towns. Indeed, if they were previously *foederati* and not *attributi* close connections with the Pollia towns might have been a reason for their inclusion in that tribe at any time.[42]

In Liguria we find that all the towns were in different tribes except for the Pollia group and for three towns in the Camilia; Augusta Bagiennorum, Alba Pompeia, and Vada Sabatia (*CIL* V. 2. 7669, 7681; 7601, 7605; 7779). This last place was certainly a *municipium* at some time (*CIL* V. 2. 7776), but was probably not one in the time of Augustus. Pliny mentions the town in his description of the Ligurian coast (III. 48) which reads 'flumen Rutuba, oppidum Album Intimilium, flumen Merula, oppidum Album Ingaunum, portus Vadorum Sabatium, flumen Porcifera, oppidum Genua, fluvius Fertor, portus Delphini, Tigullia intus, et Segesta Tigulliorum, flumen Macra, Liguriae finis'. This obviously comes from the periplus, and therefore contains the names of places which were certainly not *municipia*, such as Segesta Tigulliorum.[43] It is noteworthy, however, that the designation 'oppidum' is given to all the places which were certainly *municipia* in Pliny's and probably Augustus' time, but not to Vada Sabatia. In later times Vada's *territorium* did not extend far north. It has been thought [44] that it was at first under the administration of Albingaunum, but its membership of the tribe Camilia suggests that it was within the *territorium* of Alba Pompeia before it gained municipal status. Alba Pompeia, as a foundation of Pompeius Strabo or Caesar, must have had at least Latin rights. It cannot have been simply attributed to another town. In fact, it was probably expressly founded as an administrative centre for a large portion of Liguria. Its position rather to the north of the area of its jurisdiction is to be explained by the nature of the country, still wild and undeveloped. It was founded by the River Tanarus on the main road to Pollentia; to the south the road through Augusta Bagiennorum had probably not yet been built. The jurisdiction of Alba Pompeia extended also over the Bagienni, whose town shows by name and tribe-membership that it was founded in the time of Augustus. One remaining question is why particularly Alba Pompeia should have been selected to be the head of the district—and not, for example, Aquae Statiellae. The Statielli were probably only a *populus foederatus* before the legislation of Caesar; even if they were given Latin rights by Pompeius Strabo, and even if Alba Pompeia was only founded by Caesar, it might well have seemed more advisable to give wide powers to this new foundation than to the more exclusively Ligurian Aquae Statiellae. If, as is more likely, Alba Pompeia was founded in 89, the attribution to it of the two areas can easily be explained, whether it occurred in 89 or 49 B.C.

---

[42] Compare the case of Mevaniola and Forum Livi, discussed in *PBSR* XX, 1952, p. 58.

[43] See Lamboglia, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 232.

[44] Lamboglia, *op. cit.*, p. 183.

See also F. Gabotto, *I municipi romani dell'Italia occidentale alla morte di Teodosio il Grande*, Biblioteca della società storica subalpina, XXXII, 1907, p. 251. The author has an ingenious but unlikely theory to account for the various names given to this town in ancient sources.

There is, however, a further problem connected with Alba Pompeia. The magistrates were *IIviri* (*CIL* V. 2. p. 863), but there is no evidence that the place was ever properly colonised, and it is called a *municipium* in an inscription of the time of Trajan (*CIL* V. 2. 7153). Since its tribe was not the Pollia, it cannot be included with the towns which were at one time under *praefecti*, and which later acquired and retained *IIviri*. Beloch [45] explained the IIvirate here by supposing that Alba Pompeia was not given the Roman citizenship by Caesar, and so did not change over to the IIIIvirate in 49. We find other examples of the IIvirate in areas where Latin rights were retained for a considerable period.[46] It seems difficult to accept this, since the common tribe-membership of Alba, Augusta Bagiennorum, and Vada Sabatia does suggest a large and important administrative unit (and there are greater difficulties in reversing the positions and making Augusta Bagiennorum the original head of the district). In any case it seems unlikely that any areas given Latin rights by Pompeius Strabo were not given Roman citizenship by Caesar, even if he gave the citizenship to some places which were *not* given Latin rights in 89. So the IIvirate of Alba Pompeia remains a puzzle.

In Transpadana we find Comum and Mediolanium in the Oufentina tribe, and Ticinum and Laumellum in the Papiria. Only one inscription gives the tribe of Laumellum (*Not. Scav.* 1895, p. 220); but others found there mention *IIIIviri*. Pliny does not follow the Augustan lists in describing this region (III. 123 f.) and therefore the fact that he omits Laumellum may not mean that it was not a *municipium*. Since, however, the tribe is that of Ticinum and the magistrates mentioned above could have been magistrates of that town, it is most probable that Laumellum was never independent but was a *vicus* in the *territorium* of Ticinum.

The problem of Comum and Mediolanium is much more difficult. We have noted above [47] the fact that these two towns probably accounted for a large part of the membership of the Oufentina tribe. This at once suggests that there was a political motive for placing them in the same tribe. In 49, however, not only do the Cisalpine towns seem to have been placed indiscriminately with no attempts to create preponderant voting strength in particular tribes, but also Caesar, with absolute power in his grasp, could no longer have had such a motive. If we wish to find one we must go back to the period of the struggle with Pompeius Magnus for that power. Caesar probably made Novum

---

[45] *op. cit.*, p. 520. [46] See below, especially n. 54. [47] See n. 10.

Comum a Roman colony.[48] This was later made a political issue (but that does not force us to postulate any but a purely military reason for Caesar's colonisation, even if it suggests that we might). Could there have been enfranchisement also of the inhabitants of Mediolanium? The history of this important town is most obscure. We have few inscriptions giving magistrates or functionaries [49]; we have some mentioning 'collegii fabrum et centonariorum municipi'; we have others giving various colonial titles. In an attempt to reconcile these some authors [50] have maintained that there remained two centres, a native town which became a *municipium* in 49, and a Roman colony. In Cisalpine Gaul we do not find examples of the Romans constructing a new town adjacent to an old one which continued to exist; wherever our information is trustworthy it seems that their colonies altered the old cities but were on the same sites. Certainly in the case of Mediolanium the oldest parts may not have been completely transformed, and it may be correct to see a particularly 'Roman' quarter where today a rectangular street-plan remains. But there cannot have been separate political organisations, and in 49 the whole city was a single *municipium* in which inhabitants of Gallic and Roman ancestry were on an equal footing. Mediolanium probably became a colony, or was granted that title, later in the empire.[51] Pliny's account does not call it a colony, but Augustus may have given to it the name 'Augusta' as a mark of honour, to be compared with the similar title given to Verona.[52] This sketch of the town's development does not show how Mediolanium could have been dependent on Comum or connected with it, and this relationship, which must have had beginning and end in the period 89–49 B.C., remains an hypothesis and a mystery. Only the joint membership of the tribe Oufentina remains as a possible record of one move in the struggle between Caesar and Pompeius.[53]

Turning from Transpadana to Venetia, we find three tribes (the Menenia, the Papiria, and the Claudia) to which more than one town belonged. The towns in the Menenia were Vicetia (*CIL* V. 3189, 3207) and Feltria (*CIL* V. 2068–9, 2071); in the Papiria were Opitergium (*CIL* V. 1968, 1970, 1978), Bellunum (*CIL* V. 2044–5, 2048, 2055) and Tridentum (*CIL* V. 5034, 5036). In 49 Vicetia and Opitergium, already towns of importance, became *municipia*, and included in their citizen bodies may have been the people living in villages on the roads leading up into the Alps. These communities were not yet large enough to form *municipia* themselves, and must have been attributed to, or (if attribution will not explain membership of the same tribe) incorporated in, those *municipia* with which they had the material link of the Roman roads. This brought together Vicetia and Feltria, and Opitergium and Bellunum. Tridentum may have been independently placed in the Papiria tribe; unless an early road system (different from the Opitergium–Feltria–Tridentum route) accounted for its grouping with Bellunum rather than with Feltria. At first sight it may seem hard to believe that in 49 there were only two *municipia*, Vicetia and Opitergium, with *territoria* covering the sweep of Alpine foothills to the north of the Vicetia–Opitergium road. But the area was perhaps not wholly divided between the two. The case of Dripsinum [54] suggests that other communities with a considerable measure of independence existed near by.

---

[48] In this much-discussed problem the conclusions of Hardy ('Caesar's Colony at Novum Comum in 59 B.C.', *Some Problems in Roman History*, Oxford, 1924, pp. 126 ff.) are in the main acceptable.

[49] But A. Passerini ('I primi magistrati di Milano in età imperiale', *Athenaeum*, XXII–XXIII, 1944–45, p. 98) has suggested that Mediolanium had first *IIIIviri* and then *IIviri*.

[50] For example, Colombo, *Milano, preromana, romana e barbarica*, Milan, 1928, p. 79; 'Di Milano nell'evo antico', *Nuova riv. storica* X, 1926, p. 19.

[51] For views on the date and the nature of this colonisation see Mommsen, *CIL* V. 2. p. 634; Colombo, 'Di Milano nell'evo antico', *op. cit.*, pp. 20 ff.; Galli, *Corso di storia milanese*, Milan, 1920, vol. 1, p. 90. Passerini (*loc. cit.*) quotes *CIL* V. 2. 5847, which mentions a 'IIvir i. d. m. p.' and also a 'IIIIvir a. p.'. We may reject Passerini's argument that m. p. means 'manumittendi potestate', but Mommsen's explanation—that it refers to the 'municipium Placentiae'—remains unsatisfactory. The inscription may be a record of Mediolanium's change of status from *municipium* to *colonia*. The date was probably the end of the second century.

(If it became usual for different emperors to give their names to an important city like Mediolanium, as a mark of respect and without a genuine colonisation, some variety in the titles used is only to be expected.)

[52] See n. 32.

[53] It has been suggested that the reference in Strabo, V. 1. 6. 213, to 'οἱ πεντακόσιοι τῶν Ἑλλήνων' is in fact mistaken, and conceals the record of enfranchisement of some local people, or their upper class, who were to be included on the roll of Novum Comum together with new colonists (Pompeian veterans?). But it is dangerous to suppose Strabo wrong on such a point, and his statement seems to be confirmed by Cicero, *ad Fam.* XIII. 35. 1. On the other hand, the enfranchisement of these Greeks does suggest that political considerations as well as military ones influenced the method in which Caesar founded his colony.

The towns in the Claudia tribe were Concordia (*CIL* V. 1877, 1878, 1883, 1920–1), Tarvisium (*CIL* V. 2110), Iulium Carnicum (*CIL* V. 1838) and Acelum (*CIL* V. 8808). Can the foundation or independence of any of these towns be assigned to a post-Caesarian date? [55] Certainly the area south of the Alpine foothills and west of Aquileia must have been completely distributed among *municipia* in 49 B.C. There is no doubt about Altinum in the Scaptia and Opitergium in the Papiria. Acelum and Tarvisium, both in the Claudia, probably then formed a single *municipium*. Tarvisium appears in an alphabetical list of peoples in Pliny's account (III. 130), which suggests that it was independent under Augustus. Acelum is described as if it were an important place, but did not necessarily appear in a census list. Perhaps it was at first under the administration of Tarvisium, although independent by the time that Pliny wrote.

Concordia was probably founded before 27 B.C. since it was a 'colonia Iulia'; and its name in fact suggests the triumviral period. In Republican times it was no more than a vicus (*CIL* V. 1890). It can hardly, for geographical reasons, have been administered as part of the Tarvisium–Acelum *municipium*, yet if it had been a part of any other state, of which it was later the neighbour, why was it not when colonised placed in the tribe of that state (i.e. the Papiria of Opitergium, the Scaptia of Altinum, or the Velina of Aquileia)? There are two possible answers. Either the colony was an entirely new creation, perhaps using land taken from more than one existing town, and the tribe was chosen haphazard, or possibly as the tribe of one of the triumvirs; or there was some other town in the vicinity in the tribe Claudia, in whose *territorium* was the *vicus* which later became Concordia. Although the former solution is more probable, we must investigate the second possibility a little farther.

---

[54] Which was at Trissino (P. Fraccaro, 'I Dripsinates, Dripsinum e Trissino', *Athenaeum*, XVII, 1939, p. 171), and was probably one of the *Euganeae gentes* attributed to *municipia* (Pliny, III. 133), some of them possibly as early as 89 B.C. (*ibid.* 138). That this place had retained considerable independence is shown by the fact that it was placed in a fresh tribe, the Collina, when it was given the citizenship. Compare the case of the civitas Camunnorum, which was attributed to Brixia, but was placed in the tribe Quirina when it became independent. These places were alike in that both had *IIviri*. Pliny III. 134 suggests that at one and the same time some of these peoples had Latin rights but were also attributed to nearby *municipia*. Presumably when they were given magistrates of their own (a state hardly compatible with *attributio*) these magistrates were *IIviri* either because the areas still had only Latin rights and were *coloniae* in the sense that towns granted Latin rights by Pompeius Strabo had been *coloniae*, or because it had become customary to use the IIvirate in areas which had enjoyed Latin rights for a long period, whether as independent units or as *attributi*. Other possible examples in Cisalpine Gaul which we have had occasion to discuss are Alba Pompeia and Albintimilium (although both these places must have acquired full citizenship long before the Alpine peoples did).

[55] See P. Sticotti, 'Ad Tricesimum', *Memorie storiche forogiuliesi*, IX, 1913, p. 373, for comments on the use of the tribe Claudia in the tenth region of Italy.

The tribe Claudia is found on many inscriptions in the region; at Glemona (*CIL* V. 1816) and as far as Ad Tricesimum on the road to Aquileia (*CIL* V. 1794, 1802). Iulium Carnicum is the place we first think of, but it will not meet the case. It cannot have been a *municipium* or a colony founded by Caesar or earlier because inscriptions (*CIL* V. 1829–30) dating from later than 27 B.C. mention a *magister vici* (although it was colonised later (*CIL* V. 1838, 1842)).[56] Pliny mentions Iulium Carnicum in his description (III. 130) perhaps because it soon became more important than the town in whose *territorium* it had stood, and under whose administration it had been in the early years of Augustus' principate. Could this town have been Glemona, exercising a wide dominion running down to and including the site of the future Concordia as well as the *vicus* which became Iulium Carnicum? Or was it the Beria which was in the Claudia tribe (*CIL* V. 947, 2071) and from which came the Beruenses mentioned by Pliny (III. 130)? (This place appears in the same list as Feltria and Tridentum, and was probably a *municipium*, but it cannot now be located, and, since it was Raetian, it may have been much farther west than Concordia.) Indeed, once we have realised that Pliny's mention of Iulium Carnicum does not mean that this place was necessarily a *municipium* under Augustus, we may go farther and express a doubt whether there was any *municipium* at all thereabouts until later. The area might have been first ascribed to the Claudia tribe when Iulium Carnicum was made a *municipium* or a colony, for this tribe was extensively used in these northern parts in the time of Augustus and afterwards. If there was no other town in the Claudia north of Concordia we must return to the first hypothesis: that the tribe was chosen for the colony without reference to the previous tribal membership of the land that made up its *territorium*. On the whole this is the most probable solution, especially since it is unlikely that the Caesarian settlement made use of the same tribe at Tarvisium–Acelum and again in the Concordia region not very far away. Concordia may then have been the first of a series of towns given the franchise or founded by the triumvirs, by Augustus, and by his successors on the north-east borders of Italy, the later ones all being certainly placed in the Claudia tribe. (Foundations in this region reflect the growing importance of the Alpine passes through which communications with the new Danubian provinces were maintained.)

Forum Iulium and the towns of the Histrian peninsula were not in the Claudia. Forum Iulium is mentioned by Pliny as independent, and was in the tribe Scaptia. Since it cannot possibly have been under the administration of Altinum, which is too far away, and yet was placed in the Scaptia and not in the Claudia, it may have been founded by Caesar and not by Augustus. The fact that the magistracy was the IIIIvirate suggests that it was founded before 49 B.C. and was given the IIIIvirate together with other Cisalpine communities in that year. If it was founded later it would probably have had the IIvirate.[57] At first sight it seems odd that there should be such definite evidence for a town so far up in the mountains becoming independent no later than 49 B.C. But it is certainly to be connected with a road,[58] probably built by Caesar over to Virunum. Perhaps this did not retain much importance, being superseded by the Augustan road running through Iulium Carnicum.[59]

---

[56] A. Degrassi (*Il confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana*, Berne, 1954) suggests (p. 37) that the place was founded by Caesar as a *castellum*, not a *forum*, perhaps in 50 B.C., to act as part of the defensive system of Aquileia. He thinks it became a *municipium* during Augustus' Danubian campaigns, but that the date of its colonisation cannot be determined.

[57] See Beloch, *Röm. Gesch.*, p. 497.

[58] For examples of such connections see *PBSR* XX, 1952, n. 28.

Next we must turn to a number of related problems—those connected with Histria. Tergeste, Pola, and Parentium were in the Pupinia, Velina, and Lemonia tribes respectively (*CIL* V. 522, 536, 549; 35, 47, 58; 335 and p. 35); does this diversity point to enfranchisement by Caesar? [60] Sticotti [61] says they were 'Julian colonies most probably founded by Caesar', and it will be convenient first to investigate briefly the question of their colonisation. Pola and Tergeste are called colonies by Pliny, which means that they were probably foundations or refoundations of Augustus' time. Pola has the title 'Pietas Iulia', suggesting that it was founded soon after Caesar's death, and Tergeste, judging from inscriptions recording building operations in 33 (or possibly 32) B.C. (*CIL* V. 525–6), was fortified first by Octavian—although the fortification probably came a few years after the colony was founded (and it was already founded by 35 B.C. according to Appian *Ill.* 18).[62] Parentium was a *colonia Iulia* (*CIL* V. 335), and is called an *oppidum* by Pliny (III. 129). This should not be taken as proof that the colony was not Augustan, since Pliny was perhaps here following his periplus source.[63] If the Histrian towns in fact owed their colonisation to Augustus, with the possible exception of Parentium, did they owe their enfranchisement to Caesar? [64] This hypothesis is on the face of it improbable, but it has attracted some champions because it is thought to solve one very difficult problem.

Before Caesar's settlement Histria and Illyricum were administered together with Cisalpine Gaul, but he probably made Illyricum a separate province. Where did the frontier run? During Augustus' principate the Italian border was moved to the Arsia (Strabo VII. 5. 3. 314). Strabo's use of the word 'προήγαγον' suggests that the former frontier was farther west, and it was probably the Formio. Mommsen (*CIL* V. p. 1) thought that this was implied by Pliny (III. 127) 'Formio amnis . . . anticus auctae Italiae terminus'; a phrase which must contain a reference to 42 B.C. when Cisalpine Gaul became part of an Italy thereby enlarged. Before 42 the boundary between the two provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum may have been the Timavus.[65] In 42 the territory of Tergeste was included in Italy as being already marked out for a Roman colony. Why was not the whole of Histria then included? Even if we believe that Pola and Parentium were in a similar position to that of Tergeste, it may be that their *territoria* did not, at this time at least, cover the whole of the peninsula, and so the area was left outside until the frontier was moved to the Arsia a few years later.[66]

---

[59] Epigraphical evidence is completely lacking for a road through Forum Iulium; for roads in the neighbourhood of Iulium Carnicum we have the testimony of the itineraries and of inscriptions. The Antonine Itineraries give two routes from Aquileia to the north: Aquileia–ad Tricesimum–Iulio Carnico–Longio–Agunto; and Aquileia–viam Belloio–Larice–Santico–Viruno. *CIL* V, 2, 7995–9, are inscriptions from milestones on the road north from Concordia, all erected by Augustus.

Degrassi (*op. cit.*, pp. 30–3) gives fully the arguments for Forum Iulium being a Caesarian foundation. (I did not have an opportunity to read Degrassi's book until I had in effect completed this paper.)

[60] Although Tergeste is called a κώμη by Artemidorus (see Stephanus s. v. Τέγεστρα) and a φρούριον by Strabo (V. 1. 9. 215) it is mentioned by Hirtius (*BG* VIII. 24) in a way which suggests it was already important enough to become a *municipium* in 49.

[61] *op. cit.*, p. 376.

[62] Degrassi (*op. cit.*, p. 52) argues for 42 or 41 as the date for the colonisation of Tergeste, which he persuasively connects closely with the frontier change from Timavus to Formio, made when Cisalpine Gaul became part of Italy. He dates Pola to the same period, comparing its title 'Pietas' with those of other triumviral colonies (*op. cit.*, pp. 63 ff.).

[63] Degrassi (*op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff.) refers to inscriptions mentioning *IIIIviri*, and suggests that Parentium was made a *municipium* by Octavian (or Augustus) and not colonised until the time of Tiberius or Gaius (either of whom could have founded *coloniae Iuliae*).

[64] It should be borne in mind that the Augustan colonisation might have been only in reinforcement of colonisation by Caesar.

[65] See Degrassi, *op. cit.*, pp. 14 ff. and 49 ff.

Kubitschek,[67] on the other hand, thought that the frontier before this last change was farther to the *east*, so that for the first part of Augustus' reign Histria and the Liburnian towns of the Scardonitarian *conventus* were in Italy; and it is the problem of these Liburnian towns which makes the course of development outlined above seem not wholly satisfactory. The towns are mentioned twice by Pliny, once in his description of the Dalmatian area, and once, with some changes of spelling and the inclusion of the Nedinates and the omission of Lopsi, in the list of towns in the tenth region of Italy (III. 139 and 131). It is certainly not simply a mistake which has led to their presence in this second place, since they are grouped in one list with towns which were without doubt in Venetia, like Tarvisium and Forum Iulium. It is argued, therefore, that these Liburnian towns were at one time a part of Italy and at another of Illyricum, so that they were found twice over, in lists compiled at different times.

Another reason for thinking that this region was at one time closely connected with Cisalpine Gaul is that Pliny (III. 139) says that these particular Liburnian towns had the *ius italicum*. It has been suggested [68] that they remained part of the province of Cisalpine Gaul and were enfranchised with it by Caesar (together with the Histrian peninsula), but were excluded from Italy in 42. It must have been from records dating back to that period that Pliny got one of his lists of these towns. We might suppose, then, that until 42 these towns and Histria remained part of the Gallic province. There is an objection to this view. We know the tribe of only one of these Liburnian towns, Nedinum, and this was the Claudia (*CIL* III. 2864, 2867, 2871). This at once suggests that it was *not* enfranchised by Caesar, and makes it more likely that it was Augustus who gave the *ius italicum* to the whole area. He might easily have made such an enfranchisement grant in the course of one of his campaigns in Histria and the north-east, or it might have been associated with one of the moves of the Italian frontier. In that case these towns would never have been in the *Gallia Cisalpina* which was covered by Caesar's enfranchising law.

It remains difficult, however, to see why Pliny included these Liburnian towns in his description of the tenth Italic region. An answer might be sought in the nature of the lists he was using. These census lists seem to have given the different towns in tribal groups and to have taken no account of the Augustan division into regions. It might easily be that though the group of Liburnian towns was outside of Italy, it was given in conjunction with the towns of the tenth region. For the convenience of the census the frontier of Italy might have so far been disregarded as to allow of the grouping together of districts with the full franchise. Then when Pliny came to describe Dalmatia, he may have used census lists of a different date in which the Liburnian towns were included in their proper geographical context. Or he may have made use of his other sources in this part. We may note that here the towns are not in alphabetical order, and that the whole account is geographical rather than political. Further evidence of the tribal membership of the Liburnian towns would help to resolve this problem.

---

[66] When other places, such as Nesactium, may have been made *municipia* (see Chilver, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 65). The passage of Mela (II. 57) 'Tergeste . . . finit Illyricum' must be referred to the years before 42; unless Mela is writing of ethnical rather than political divisions (cf. II. 55).

[67] *op. cit.* (n. 4), p. 81.

[68] R. Thomsen, *op. cit.* (n. 41), p. 28.

It is worth remarking here that the inclusion of these Liburnian towns in the Claudia tribe would be in accordance with the general trend of policy in the early principate. A further example we may note is Emona, a *colonia Iulia* founded probably by Tiberius.[69] Sticotti [70] writes 'the use of the tribe Claudia continues in Alpine districts outside Italy and in a later age. Noricum, Celeia, Iuvavum, Teurnia, and Virunum are towns in the Claudia, and Savaria in Pannonia a colony in the same tribe'.[71]

It seems, then, to sum up this lengthy survey, that the independent *municipia* and *coloniae* in Cisalpine Gaul in 49 B.C. were the following: (in the later Venetia) Aquileia, Altinum, Opitergium, Tarvisium–Acelum, Vicetia, Patavium, Atria, Ateste, Verona, Mantua, Brixia, Forum Iulium, Tridentum ?, Glemona or Beria ?; (in Transpadana) Bergomum, Comum, Vercellae, Novaria, Mediolanium, Laus Pompeia, Cremona, Ticinum, Eporedia, Taurini ?[72] ; (in Liguria) Industria, Pollentia, Vardagate, Hasta, Forum Fulvi, Dertona, Potentia, Alba Pompeia, Aquae Statiellae, Genua, Libarna, Albingaunum, Albintimilium ?, Iria ?; (in Aemilia) Ravenna, Caesena, Forum Livi, Forum Popili, Faventia, Forum Corneli, Claterna, Bononia, Mutina, Regium Lepidum, Parma, Brixellum, Placentia, Veleia, Fidentia, Forum Clodi, Forum Licini, Forum Druentinorum, Otesini, Padinates, Solonates, Saltus Galliani.

It may be noted that the area covered by these towns is very much restricted all round the half-circle of the Alpine foothills. Here, when we remember the long campaigns under Augustus for the subjugation of the Alps, it is easy to see that the conditions could not yet have been those necessary for enfranchisement. Many of the peoples of the Alpine slopes, however, were *attributi*, and others must have been *foederati*, though our evidence is very scanty.[73]

(b) *The Legislation*

We have already mentioned some of the passages which speak of Caesar's championship of Transpadane claims to the franchise.[74] This was directed rather at robbing Pompeius of a vast *clientela* in the Po country than at winning active support for himself. His promises were carried out as soon as he gained power; there was no reason to refuse the concession, which was one which did not prejudice his position or hamper the rest of his programme. We shall see later [75] that there was probably a further reason for the citizenship grant, which in fact took away from the measure's effectiveness as a winner of support. The time for winning support was now over, however, and in that phase of Caesar's struggle the Transpadani and their grievances had served their turn.

Our knowledge of the legislation by which Caesar enfranchised and reorganised Cisalpine Gaul is very limited. Dio (XLI. 36) says 'τοῖς Γαλάταις τοῖς ἐντὸς τῶν Ἄλπεων οἰκοῦσι τὴν πολιτείαν . . . . . ἀπέδωκε,' setting this grant in his account of

---

[69] See the account of recent work on Emona in Degrassi, *op. cit.*, p. 110. Kubitschek (*op. cit.*, p. 98) thought that the *ager* had been already assigned by Caesar, because it was in the Claudia tribe, the very reason, on our view, for believing it almost certainly a post-Caesarian foundation.

[70] *op. cit.*, p. 377.

[71] It should be noted, however, that even although Augustus may have given the Histrian towns the franchise, these were not placed in the tribe Claudia. Their foundation perhaps dates to a time prior to the adoption of this policy.

[72] See n. 102.

[73] See *CIL* V. 1. 5050, for tribes which until the time of Claudius were 'ne attributi quidem'. This edict speaks of the Anauni, the Tulliasses, and the Sinduni, attributed to Tridentum, probably by Augustus. See also n. 54.

[74] See n. 19. And see E. G. Hardy's 'The Transpadane Question', *op. cit.*, and 'Caesar's Colony at Novum Comum', *op. cit.*, for the period 59–49 B.C., and a discussion of theories to account for the fact that an enfranchising law was not passed by Caesar until 49.

[75] Below, p. 94.

Caesar's dictatorship at the end of 49. The two fragments of inscriptions found in Cisalpine Gaul and taken to bear on the problem (Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani*, ed. 7, 1909 xvi and xvii) have, of course, been variously interpreted. The Fragmentum Atestinum refers to a *lex* or *plebiscitum* in the name of Roscius, passed on the 11th March. Since the year is not specified, it is justifiable to conclude that the fragment is part of a law of the same year as the *lex Roscia*. It is probably part of a *lex data* dependent on it. There is no certainty that this *lex Roscia* applied only to Cisalpine Gaul, but it did contain provisions about magistracies, and has been considered by many scholars [76] to have been the enfranchising law for Cisalpine Gaul, inspired by Caesar, but introduced by L. Roscius Fabatus, a praetor of 49. A difficulty [77] is that this *lex Roscia* was passed on an 11th March, whereas Dio places the franchise grant in the autumn of 49. The objection is not fatal, since Dio or his source may easily have referred it to the wrong group of Caesarian reforms. This *lex Roscia* is referred to as a *lex* or *plebiscitum*, and it has been thought [78] that we can assume from this that it was a *plebiscitum*, and therefore conclude that it could not have been introduced by a Roscius who was a praetor, but only by a tribune of that name. The comprehensive formula, however, might have been used even in *leges*, and even where they referred to themselves (so that there could have been in fact no doubt which legislative procedure was being followed, and which title was strictly appropriate [79]).

Other scholars have thought that the enfranchising law was a *lex Rubria*, mentioned in the second inscriptional fragment, from Veleia. This is obviously part of the actual *lex Rubria* or of some *lex*, *data* or *rogata*, dependent on it. It mentions Gallia Cisalpina, and therefore dates before 42 B.C., and since it regulates judicial affairs in *oppida*, *municipia*, *coloniae*, *praefecturae*, *fora*, *vici*, *conciliabula*, *castella*, and *territoria*,[80] it seems impossible to apply it to a period before 49. We may note, too, that the local magistrates for all these communities are described as *IIviri*, *IIIIviri*, or *praefecti* only. We may conclude that the *lex Rubria* was passed between 49 and 42 B.C., and that it may have been the enfranchising law of 49 itself. We may conclude also that there was a second law,[81] to which the Atestine fragment refers, which was a *lex Roscia*, but we cannot date this law or be certain that it applied only to Cisalpine Gaul.

Both these extant fragments are concerned with judicial procedure, and this brings us to the question of what was involved in a franchise grant. An order 'IIIIviros creare' (cf. Cic. *ad Att.* V. 2. 3) was plainly not the way things were managed when Caesar was dictator.[82] What new legislation was required, what aspects of the local political, economic, and social life were subjected to reorganisation? This is closely linked with a wider and much vexed problem, that of the 'municipalisation' of Italy. If this had proceeded by definitive legislation, it might have been necessary only to extend the application of an existing system. If it had been a gradual process with local variations, and no set formulae, Caesar was faced with a more complicated problem in Cisalpine Gaul.

---

[76] E.g. Chilver, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 8.

[77] Strongly felt by G. Niccolini, *I fasti dei tribuni della plebe*, Milan, 1934, p. 441.

[78] E.g. by Niccolini, *loc. cit.*

[79] See H. Siber s. v. Plebiscita, *RE* XXI, 1, 56.

[80] A comprehensive list of municipal organisations which could hardly be applied only to those communities which had the full Roman citizenship before 49 B.C.

[81] See Niccolini, *loc. cit.*

[82] The phrase does, however, call to mind the Patavine inscription (*CIL* V, 1, 2864) 'M. Iunius Sabinus IIIIvir aediliciae potestatis e lege Iulia municipali', and I cannot help wondering whether *this lex Iulia municipalis* may not be Caesar's enfranchising law. It has also been taken, with plausibility, as a *lex data* referring to Patavium alone (see Sherwin-White, *The Roman Citizenship*, p. 145).

We may feel sure that here the process was not to be gradual, and that there were to be formulae. It is perhaps worth remarking that the problem was one which presented itself to him early; if as dictator he passed or projected a general *lex municipalis* it was after he had at least granted the citizenship to Cisalpine Gaul, and his legislation affecting that area may have become a model for wider application.[83] Whether there was a general municipal law for Italy before Caesar's dictatorship or not, whether he was responsible for passing or preparing one, or whether indeed no such law ever existed, it cannot be denied that during and before his dictatorship a process called 'constituere municipia' existed (Cic. *ad Fam.* XIII. 11. 3; Caesar *BC* I. 15), and it is reasonable to suppose that this process accompanied enfranchisement in Cisalpine Gaul. An interesting problem remains. The inscriptional fragment from Veleia mentioned above regulates judicial affairs in *oppida*, *municipia*, *coloniae*, *praefecturae*, *fora*, *vici*, *conciliabula*, *castella*, and *territoria* 'quae sunt eruntve in Gallia Cisalpina'. It therefore seems that not all the communities in the area had become or were immediately to become *municipia* by name. We might attribute this to the fact that the process of *constitutio* for the whole of Cisalpine Gaul might have taken years to complete, whereas certain matters needed immediate implementation. It is more likely, however, that the process of *constitutio* could and did take place in all kinds of communities, giving to most of them the magistracy, the quattuorvirate, which we think of as typical of *municipia*, but not altering the titles by which these communities were generally known. Gradually it became usual to speak of them as *municipia*, but this was probably not as a result of any enactment or legally-inspired declaration.[84]

There was probably another way in which Caesarian legislation was intended profoundly to affect the life of Cisalpine Gaul. We have already noted that the legions of the last years of the Republic were heavily recruited from that area. There is no proof that any of these men were settled there by the Dictator himself. The only new foundation which was probably his was Forum Iulium [85]—in a part where a new urban centre was highly desirable. Caesar's legions which were disbanded seem to have been settled as units,[86] and would surely have left some memorial or mark on tradition if they had been placed in Cisalpine Gaul. What, then, of the references to centuriated land in connection with Opitergium,[87] and of the widespread traces of centuriation? It is difficult to attribute all this, particularly in the *territoria* of *municipia* of Venetia and Transpadana, to settlement by the triumvirs and Augustus,[88] and it seems probable that it was effected by legislation. We have no knowledge of such legislation under Augustus, whereas it might very well have accompanied the other measures of Julius Caesar. For the fact that Cisalpine Gaul was not colonised by him does not mean that he did not intend to colonise it. The traces of centuriation may be evidence for the preliminary work. In the end it was the triumvirs and Augustus who carried out the programme, but the idea was probably Caesar's, and all the preparation, the survey and centuriation of vast areas, was perhaps due to his initiative.

---

[83] The problem of Italian municipalisation is beyond the scope of this article. See Sherwin-White's full discussion, *op. cit.*, pp. 141 ff. Although the suggestions of Rudolph (*Stadt und Staat im römischen Italien*) have not met with general acceptance (see particularly the review by H. Stuart Jones, *JRS* XXVI, 1936, pp. 268 ff.), his interpretation of the *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* as a law of 55 B.C. which fulfilled at least some of the functions of a municipal law has been thought to have attractions. Mr. Sherwin-White (*loc. cit.*) says, 'This *lex Roscia*, which is a properly municipal law, is the first known document to envisage the creation of artificial *municipia*, and the assimilation of the various forms of *oppida* to municipalities by the assignation of *territoria*.' Miss L. R. Taylor ('Caesar's agrarian legislation and his municipal policy', in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of A. C. Johnson*, Princeton, 1951) thinks that the law 'may well have contributed to a process of evolution by extending to *praefecturae* and *fora* and *conciliabula* a type of government already known in *coloniae* and *municipia*. At the same time the law " constituted " *municipia*. . . . The "constitution" in such cases may have concerned a new delimitation which took account of the settlements made under Caesar's agrarian laws.' I quote this because it is a view of the law which seems very reasonable in itself, and which has something in common with the interpretation of it which has tempted me to the suggestions which follow in this article.

[84] See Sherwin-White, *loc. cit.*, for the change in the use of the word *municipium* in the late Republic. We may note that a similar list of municipal organisations is found in the Table of Heraclea (Bruns, *op. cit.* (p. 92), xviii).

[85] See above, p. 88. We have already discussed the re-colonisation of Novum Comum, and the colonisation of the Histrian peninsula. Forum Iulium Iriensium was more probably founded by Augustus in connection with the building of the Via Iulia Augusta. (It is perhaps worth pointing out here the ambiguity in the title Iulia, which makes certainty in ascription to Iulius Caesar or Augustus (before 27 B.C.) often impossible.)

[86] The seventh and eighth legions were settled in Campania (Nic. Dam. *Vita Caes.* 31; Cicero *Phil.* II. 102); the sixth at Arelate and the tenth at Narbo (J. Kromayer, *Hermes*, 1896, p. 1).

These considerations put the enfranchisement of 49 in a somewhat different light. In the first place it would be the necessary corollary to the arrival in the area of thousands of men retaining the citizenship on discharge from the legions. Complications and friction would have been serious if such a large section of the community had had rights which were denied to the people from whom many of them had sprung. Secondly, the franchise was the recompense for the planned appropriation of land. Cisalpine Gaul was to suffer the experiences which agrarian laws of the past had brought to various parts of Italy (although the suffering was likely to be the greater in that the proportion of small farmers was probably higher than it had been in former areas of settlement).[89] Even although this settlement had not taken place by the time of Caesar's murder, plans for it had already caused alarm and opposition in the province. This is made clear by the marked Republicanism of the area, which is proved not only by the triumviral confiscations (which indeed sought any and every excuse), but also by explicit statements in our authorities.[90] Such an attitude is hard to explain if the Cisalpini had received from Caesar nothing but the benefits of the franchise, a new and efficient judicial system and a few changes in municipal organisation. The pill in the jam was certainly the threat of veteran settlement.

A law authorising centuriation must have had something in common with the extant passages of the *lex Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia* (Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani*, ed. 7, 1909, xv). The features of the three chapters which are of relevance here are as follows: the first chapter shows that the law provided for the *deductio* of *coloniae* and the *constitutio* of *municipia*, *fora*, *conciliabula*, and *praefecturae*. All these units are to have magistrates *iure dicundo* at their head. The third chapter (reproduced in the *Digest* 47. 21. 3 as part of a Caesarian *lex agraria*) refers to *limites* and *decumani* to be drawn within the *ager colonicus* or the *territorium* of *coloniae*, *municipia*, *fora*, *conciliabula*, and *praefecturae*. In some but not all of these places there are to be *curatores* as a result of this law. The second chapter (reproduced in the *lex col. Genetivae Iuliae* of 44 B.C.) refers to the upkeep of boundaries and ditches, and to the payment of fines 'colonis municipibusve'. (In the third chapter fines are to be paid 'in publicum'.) It will be assumed in what follows that these chapters do belong to a single law, whatever its date. This law must have been either a general law establishing the way in which all future colonisation and municipal constitution was to be carried out, or, as seems far more likely, it referred to a definite area and occasion (though it would have been afterwards applicable, at least in part, elsewhere). The alternatives are Italy as a whole, or some restricted region. The provisions for delimitation of *ager* are against the former of these alternatives, and against the view of Sherwin-White, which only stresses the 'municipal' aspect of the law, just as the provisions for the constitution of variously named civic units are against the view that it is no more than an ordinary *lex agraria*. It must in fact apply to a time where both centuriation and some degree of municipal organisation were needed. The law has been claimed for 55 B.C., and it has been suggested that it played a part in the process of settlement consequent upon Caesar's agrarian legislation of 59. Its application was therefore limited to certain specified areas. In these colonies were to be founded and other civic units 'constituted'. Miss Taylor [91] thinks the law envisaged the elevation of other types of organisation to the status of *municipia* by extending to them 'a type of government already known in *coloniae* and *municipia*'. As she points out, however, the law does provide for the constitution of *municipia* also, and it seems difficult to account for this in areas of Italy affected by Caesar's settlements. However that may be, this law or a similar one would exactly meet the requirements for the organisation of Cisalpine Gaul. There both the 'constitution' of all communities which were not colonies and the delimitation of *ager* in both *ager colonicus* and *territoria* of *municipia* seem likely consequences of enfranchisement.[92]

---

[87] See above, p. 82.

[88] Although what was done in the case of Patavium, Mantua, and Ariminum may well have taken place also in other towns, less famous in themselves or in their publicists, it seems hard to accept this alternative as a complete explanation.

[89] See Chilver, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 148.

[90] Cicero (*ad Fam.* XII. 5. 2) writes to Cassius 'Praeter Bononiam, Regium Lepidum, Parmam, totam Galliam tenebamus studiosissimam rei publicae; tuos etiam clientes Transpadanos mirifice coniunctos cum causa habebamus'. (There was a C. Cassius from Patavium later who opposed Augustus (Suet. *div. Aug.* 51. 2) and a C. Cassius Parmensis (Appian, *BC* V. 579; Velleius II. 87) who was one of Caesar's murderers.) See also Cicero, *Phil.* III. 13; X. 10; XII. 9–10. For the statue of Brutus erected at Mediolanium see Plutarch, *Comp. of Dion and Brutus*, 5, and Suetonius, *De Rhet.* 6.

(4) AUGUSTUS

With the laws of 49 the enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul was technically complete, but the region did not become part of Italy until 42 B.C., and several changes took place before it assumed the aspect it was to wear under the empire. The most important development was, of course, the use of the area for extensive colonisation by the triumvirs and Augustus.[93] That of the triumvirs was of two kinds. Either new colonies were founded (e.g. Concordia) or veterans were settled on land taken from citizens of established *municipia*. Perhaps the triumviral practice was not to raise these *municipia* (e.g. Patavium, Mantua) to the level of colonies. Later, Augustus, paying for the land he used, adopted a more conciliatory policy. Towns where veterans were settled became

---

[91] *loc. cit.* (n. 83).

[92] As for the date of the law, the year 55 B.C. is now generally accepted. The principal reason, however, is the negative one, that there is room for five tribunes in the Fasti of that year. The view that the law was one initiated by a group of praetors in 49 (see M. Cary, *JRS* XIX, 1929, pp. 113 ff.) needs reconsideration in the light of the evidence for the praetors of that year collected in T. R. S. Broughton's *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic*, 1952, vol. II, p. 257. It may be pointed out, however, that there may have been some extraordinary appointments in the period of Caesar's dictatorship, and that at least two of the names in the title of the law are names of known praetors for 49! It must also be remarked that the law stands alone in the plurality of its named sponsors, for which there seems no particular reason in the circumstances of 55 B.C. (See Siber, Plebiscita, *RE* XXI. I. 55.)

(It may be that in fact the *agrimensores* have wrongly associated provisions of different laws, or have reproduced part of one law which itself contained chapters of various earlier laws (cf. the *lex coloniae Genetivae*). If this is the type of explanation to be adopted, then arguments based on the assumption that the three chapters belonged to a single original enactment obviously fall to the ground.)

[93] It is not always possible to decide exactly which were triumviral colonies. Many of these may have been replaced or refounded after 27 B.C.

coloniae, and towns where there was no room for further colonisation were granted the title 'Augusta'.[94] The title *colonia* was becoming a mark of distinction.

In Aemilia the most important towns of the Via Aemilia were made colonies (Pliny, III. 116). Ariminum is called a *colonia Augusta* (*CIL* XI. 1. 408, 414), which means that at least some colonists went there after 27 B.C. The town received other benefits from the imperial house; Gaius later built roads, and Tiberius finished the bridge begun by Augustus. The walls were not rebuilt at this time, and the only certain Augustan monument is the Arch.[95] The evidence that Bononia was another Augustan colony is conclusive (Pliny, XXXIII. 4. 83; Tacitus, *Ann.* XII. 58; *CIL* XI. 1. 720). The baths and the aqueduct may date from this time; the bridge is almost certainly Augustan.[96] Mutina is noted as a colony only by Pliny; Parma was rebuilt by Augustus after its destruction in 43 B.C. and called Iulia Augusta Parmensis. Placentia is mentioned by Pliny as a colony, and Asconius' doubt as to whether Cicero was justified in calling it a *municipium* (*in Pis.* 2–3) confirms that it became a colony again before he wrote. Brixellum seems to have been another Augustan colony (Pliny, III. 115). Ravenna was not colonised but was the port of the Adriatic fleet. This seems to have given rise at some date to an unusual type of municipal organisation whereby the administration was under the supervision of the commander of the fleet; there may also have been a municipal co-ordinating magistrate.[97]

In Liguria Iulia Dertona is the only colony noted by Pliny. Forum Iulium Iriensium was probably founded at the same time,[98] when the Via Iulia Augusta was built, and was made a colony later on. Lamboglia [99] thinks Hasta (called a colony by Ptolemy (III. 1. 41)), Libarna (certainly a colony at some time (*CIL* V. 2. 7428)), and also Alba Pompeia were all colonies of the early empire. But Libarna was probably not colonised as early as the reign of Augustus; for Hasta, which certainly had *IIviri* but only because it was a Pollia foundation, there is no further evidence; Alba Pompeia, as we have seen, was a *municipium* at least until the time of Trajan (*CIL* V. 2. 7153).[100]

In Transpadana we have already spoken of Mediolanium.[101] Iulia Augusta Taurinorum was probably twice colonised, once by the triumvirs and once by Augustus.[102]

---

[94] See n. 32.

[95] See G. A. Mansuelli, *Ariminum*, *Italia romana: Municipi e colonie*, I, vi, Rome, 1941, p. 78.

[96] See P. Ducati, *Storia di Bologna*, Bologna, 1928, vol. I, p. 432. An inscription near by is a milestone of 2 B.C. recording Augustus' repair work on the Via Aemilia.

[97] See G. Mancini, 'Le colonie ed i municipi romani dell'Emilia', *Emilia romana*, Florence, 1944, vol. II, p. 103, who quotes *CIL* XI. 1. 863, 'Vettius Sabinus Cam. IIIIvir aed. pot. et mag. mun. Raven.'

[98] See above, n. 85.

[99] *La Liguria antica*, Istituto per la storia di Genova, Milan, 1941, p. 311.

[100] This puzzling inscription is worth some comment. It reads '(line 5) . . . cipio suo Alba Pompeia patrono coloniarum / (line 6) . . . m municipior Albae Pompeiae Aug. Bagiennorum / (line 7) . . . ens. Genuens. Aquens. Statiel.', and it is often assumed that the towns still appearing in this list were all *municipia*. But there is hardly room for two names at the beginning of line 6, and the space there (of about twenty-two letters) was probably filled with some such phrase as 'et splendidissimorum ite)m'. If this is the kind of supplement required, we have here a combined list of *coloniae* and *municipia*, with some gaps to be filled, and the only certain deduction we can make is that Alba Pompeia itself was a *municipium*.

[101] See above, p. 86.

[102] See D. Gribaudi, *Lo sviluppo edilizio di Torino dall'epoca romana*, Turin, 1933, p. 3. There is one stretch of wall which seems to be so early that some authors would ascribe it and a colonial foundation to Caesar. But see F. Rondolino, 'Storia di Torino antico', *Atti della società piemontese di archeologia e belle arti*, XX, 1930, p. 155.

Since Pliny mentions Forum Vibi in his account of the Transpadana, it was probably independent under Augustus. But it was in the same tribe as Augusta Taurinorum, the Stellatina; which suggests that the latter town was given this tribe one stage before Forum Vibi, which was then a part of its *territorium* (see below, n. 112). Augusta Taurinorum, or rather the centre of the Taurini which preceded it, was probably enfranchised in fact by Caesar. But we may grant this without supposing any colonial settlement by him.

Augusta Praetoria, which dates from after 27 B.C., can be fixed more exactly by the inscription[103] which was set up, probably for a statue, in 23–2 B.C. The colony was built on the site of the camp used by Varro in his campaigns against the Salassi. These two settlements were made for military reasons; even so, some of the Salassi were allowed to live in or near Augusta Praetoria.[104]

In Venetia Pliny calls *coloniae* Iulia Concordia, Tergeste and Pola,[105] Cremona, Brixia,[106] Ateste and Aquileia.[107] Some authors think that Vicetia should be added to the list.[108] Verona we have already mentioned.[109] Here the baths, the theatre, and perhaps the gates are of the period, and remains show that the town was walled. Veterans were settled at Mantua and Patavium, but neither became a colony. At Patavium there are large stretches of centuriated land to the north and the south of the town,[110] and the centre itself may have been altered or regularised, since the bridges there are Augustan in date.[111] We hear of other burdens imposed on the Patavines from Macrobius (I. 11. 22) 'Asinio etiam Pollione acerbe cogente Patavinos ut pecuniam et arma conferrent'. If we knew more about this town we should have valuable evidence for the nature of the relationship between Rome and the *municipia* of Cisalpine Gaul.

The building of Augustan date at Patavium is an instance of one of the most interesting aspects of 'Romanisation' in Cisalpine Gaul. That is the transformation of the *municipia* into replicas of the *coloniae* in their regular street-plans, their public buildings, and their decorative fashions. Other good examples, though not all have so far revealed all these features, are Verona, Vicetia, Mediolanium, and Ticinum. One wonders how far the rebuilding was in genuine and spontaneous imitation of the great colonies like Augusta Taurinorum, and how far, particularly in the case of Verona, it was due to the demands, military and social, of the central government. Veleia remains as an example of qualified acceptance of the new ideas, and there must have been many small towns like it.

Turning once more to Pliny's account, we find some places mentioned which do not seem to have been *municipia*, and were perhaps only included in the periplus, and others which were really outside the boundaries of Cisalpine Gaul.[112] As for towns which were *municipia* or *coloniae* but are not found in Pliny, their independence will probably be found to date from post-Augustan times.[113]

---

[103] *Not. Scavi*, 1894, p. 369. See also G. Ferrero, 'Un'iscrizione di Aosta', *R. acc. di Scienze di Torino*, Turin, 1895, pp. 172–176.

[104] For the position of these Salassi see Hardy, *Some Problems in Roman History*, *op. cit.*, p. 28.

[105] See above, p. 89.

[106] *CIL* V. 1. 4212, refers to the 'colonia civica Augusta Brixia', which probably means that it was a later foundation distinct from the veteran colonial settlements.

[107] For full discussions of the date of the second colonisation of Aquileia see G. Brusin, 'Il problema cronologico della colonia militare di Aquileia', *Aquileia nostra*, VII–VIII, 1936–37, p. 15; and A. Degrassi, 'Problemi cronologici delle colonie di Luceria, Aquileia, Teanum Sidicinum', *Riv. di filologia*, XVI, 1938, p. 132.

Pliny may be following his geographical source in calling Aquileia a colony here. The title in that case would have reference to the original foundation.

[108] A. Colombo ('Il campo Marzio di Vicetia e un cenno sulle origini della città', *Athenaeum*, IX, 1921, p. 112) thinks that colonists were sent to Vicetia, and that there persisted a dual urban organisation of the colonists in a Roman-planned town and the *municipes* or former inhabitants, living at Berga. This is one application of the theory of dual-townships which in fact can find no secure evidential support in Cisalpine Gaul. With regard to Vicetia, the answer is given by Girardi, 'La topografia di Vicenza romana', *Archivio veneto-tridentino*, Venice, 1924, pp. 1 ff.

[109] See above, p. 80.

[110] See E. Ghislanzoni—A. de Bon, *Romanità del territorio padovano*, Padua, 1937, pp. 41 ff. and 61; and P. Fraccaro, 'Intorno ai confini e alla centuriazione degli agri di Patavium e di Acelum', *Studi di Antichità classica offerti a Emanuele Ciaceri*, 1940, pp. 100–123.

These settlements may have been made on land taken from the *territoria* of both Patavium and Adria as is maintained by C. Gasparotto (*Patavium municipio romano*, Venice, 1928, p. 69), referring to Siculus Flaccus (Lachmann, *Gromatici Veteres*, I, p. 164). But they must then have been considered a part of one or other of these *territoria*, as no new independent organisation (*colonia* in the political sense) seems to have been created there.

[111] Possibly the island on which the centre of the Roman town stood was first drained by Roman engineers, and the bridges built by them to connect this new part with the original centre to the east.

We have already had occasion to allude to the formation of the Alpine provinces.[114] These, with the exception of the Alpes Poeninae, which were under the administration of Raetia until the second century, were formed by Augustus immediately after the conquest of the Alpine peoples. His motives were both the need for military security and a desire for the convenient administration of a district whose population had reached a lower stage of civilisation than that attained in less mountainous parts. The formation of these provinces meant that in the west no attributed peoples remained in Italy, the frontier of which lay at the foot of the Alpine range where the customs stations were established. (The Cottian states, the Ligures Montani, and others, had Latin rights in the time of Augustus (Pliny, III. 135); the inhabitants of the Alpes Maritimae obtained them in A.D. 64 (Tacitus, *Ann.* XV. 32).)

This system of frontier provinces was not used in the east, where the population may have been considerably smaller, and where the broadness of the mountainous country did not lend itself to such treatment. Here, therefore, some attributed peoples remained within the Italian frontier. Apart from these, Cisalpine Gaul, since 42 B.C. no longer a province,[115] displayed a thoroughly Roman political and social organisation, and, with the division of the area into four of the Augustan regions of Italy, it became at last an equal and integral part of the peninsula. To all intents and purposes its enfranchisement was complete.

URSULA EWINS

---

[112] A word may be said about one or two of the places in Pliny's account whose status as municipia or whose identity are in doubt.

For Aemilia, see *PBSR* XX, 1952, pp. 64 f.

For Liguria, see Lamboglia, *op. cit.* (n. 5), p. 228.

In Venetia we have no evidence to place the Quarquani and the Togienses.

In the account of Transpadana appear Forum Vibi, Forum Licini, and Segusio. This third place was certainly in the province of the Cottian Alps. Forum Vibi was probably founded by C. Vibius Pansa, proconsul of Gallia Citerior in 45–44 B.C., and, as Mommsen (*CIL* V. 2. p. 825) said, was founded on a road built by Vibius through a newly-opened region. Being founded on land which was formerly under the jurisdiction of Augusta Taurinorum (see above, n. 102), it was probably in Transpadana, not in the Cottian province. (But see D. Gribaudi, 'Il Piemonte nell'antichità classica', *Biblioteca della società storica subalpina*, CXIV, 1928, p. 119.) Forum Vibi and Caburrum formed one *municipium*, though they may have been distinct localities (*CIL* V. 2. 7345, 7836; VI, 32638 b20; Gabotto, *I municipi romani dell'Italia occidentale*, *op. cit.*, p. 295).

As for Forum Licini, this seems to have been somewhere near Bergomum. The only man to whom it seems attributable is L. Licinius Crassus, the jurist, who founded Narbo in 118 B.C. and had the province of Gallia after his consulship in 95. This date is early, though not impossibly early, for road-building along the foot-hills of the Alps. The site of the Forum is given as Erba–Incino, while at Lecco is placed Leuceris ('Italia romana' *Carta del grande atlante dell'istituto geografico di Agostini*, Novara, 1938—ed. 4). The similarity in names is in favour of this view, but Erba–Incino seems too near Comum to have been independent of it, and Leuceris is placed by the ancient authorities (Rav. Geog. IV. 30; Guido, 15; Tab. Peut.) between Bergomum and Brixia. On the whole, it is better to place Forum Licini at Lecco. It may be identical with a Φόρος Διουγουντῶν or Ἰουτούντων mentioned by Ptolemy, III. 1. 27.

[113] They are mainly Alpine communities. See n. 54 for the examples of Dripsinum and the civitas Camunnorum.

[114] On these see Gribaudi, 'Il Piemonte nell'antichità classica', *op. cit.*, pp. 89 ff.

[115] Doubts have sometimes been raised as to whether this position was ever reversed after 42 B.C. But see Chilver, *op. cit.* (n. 12), p. 119.

CUMANIN CAMI'I AT ANTALYA: A BYZANTINE CHURCH

(Plates XXII–XXVII)

PAGE

Period I: The First Church 101

Period II: The Second Church 108

Period III: The Third Church 110

Period IV: The Mosque 110

Remains of Uncertain Period 110

The Inscriptions 111

Conclusions 112

THIS article is the result of a survey of Cumanın Cami'i carried out in the summer of 1953 during the writer's tenure of the Fellowship of the British Institute of Archaeology at Ankara. That the survey took place is due in large measure to encouragement from the Director of the Institute, Mr. Seton Lloyd, and to the Turkish Antiquities Department, who readily gave the necessary permission. Further thanks are due to Mr. J. B. Ward Perkins for help in the solution of various problems connected with the work, to Mr. D. E. Strong for advice on the dating of the mouldings, and to Bayan Sabahat Öğretmenoğlu, then Director of the Antalya Museum, for her interest and support.

Cumanın Cami'i, otherwise known as Korkut Cami'i or more recently simply as Kesik Minare (the Broken Minaret), stands in the southern part of the old walled town of Antalya, the ancient Attaleia, in Pamphylia, its roofless minaret forming one of the most prominent marks on the horizon as seen from the region of the Konak, on the north side of the harbour.

The building has been published on two previous occasions, firstly, as the result of a survey by Hartel for the Lanckoronski Expedition in the 1880s, and secondly, by Hans Rott in the early years of this century.[1] Hartel's plan, although in general very accurate, makes no attempt to differentiate between the structural periods, and the accompanying text is too brief to give more than a general impression of the building, which was at that time, although in decay, still fitted out as a mosque. By the time of Rott's visit, a fire had removed the wooden roof and several internal partitions, although enough plaster remained on the walls to make a structural analysis somewhat difficult. A further forty-five years of exposure to the weather have caused considerable structural damage and the loss of any wall-paintings that may have existed under the whitewash, while at the same time revealing important evidence of the various structural phases through which the building passed.

The present survey leaves several problems still unsolved, especially those relating

---

[1] G. Niemann, E. Petersen (ed. K. Lanckoronski), *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, vol. I, Vienna, 1890, pp. 26–7, pls. X–XI; Hans Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* (Studien zur Christliche Denkmäler, 5–6), Leipzig, 1908, pp. 32–46, figs. 2, 10–18; see also R. M. Riefstahl, *Turkish Architecture in S.W. Anatolia* (Art Studies VIII), Cambridge (Mass.), 1931, pp. 41–2, figs. 76–8.

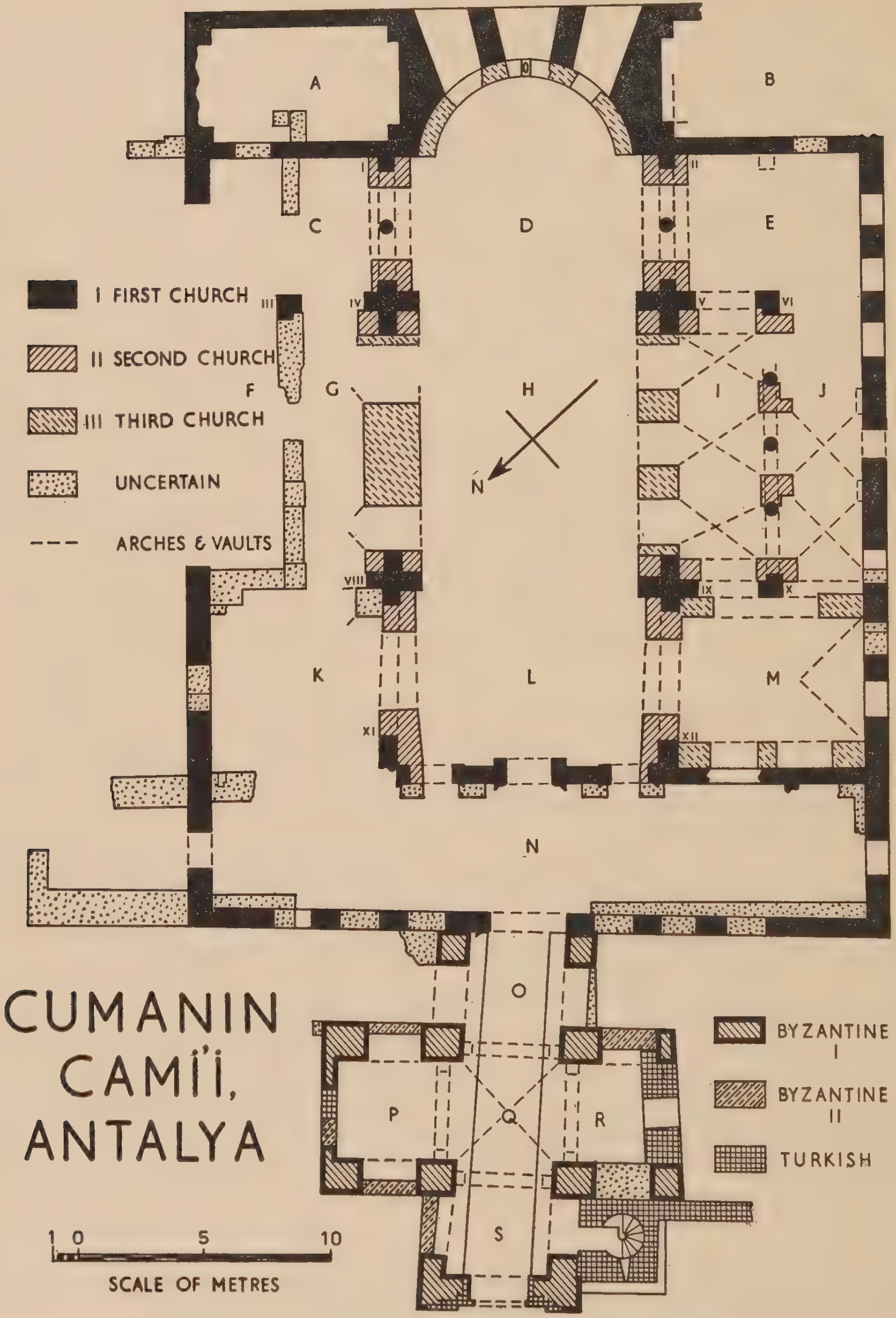

A
B
0
I
II
C
D
E
▇ I FIRST CHURCH
▨ II SECOND CHURCH
▨ III THIRD CHURCH
UNCERTAIN
- - - ARCHES & VAULTS
III
IV
V
VI
F
G
H
I
J
N
VIII
IX
X
K
L
M
XI
XII
N
O
CUMANIN
CAMİ'İ,
ANTALYA
P
Q
R
S
BYZANTINE I
BYZANTINE II
TURKISH
1 0 5 10
SCALE OF METRES

FIG. 1.

to the cruciform building that blocks the west front. Some of these questions can probably be answered only by excavation.

Before proceeding to a detailed account of the remains, it may be useful to anticipate subsequent conclusions by a short summary of the probable history of the building.

The original church (Period I) was built, probably not later than the sixth or early seventh century, in the form of a square enclosing a cross, the lateral arms of which were cut short by transverse arcades. The west arm opened into a narthex running the whole width of the building, while at the east end a single apse was flanked by large rectangular chambers, connected by doors with the spaces in the corners of the square. Galleries and a glazed clerestory were probably included in the design, and the roof appears to have been of wood, with some kind of central tower.

Subsequently (Period II) the piers inside the church were strengthened in such a way as to suggest that, while the plan remained more or less unchanged, a heavier roofing system was installed.

In Period III the lateral arms of the cross were blocked by arcades supported on piers, to give the building the appearance of a basilican plan. The apse was probably rebuilt on a smaller scale at this time.

At some indeterminate period a vaulted structure of cruciform plan (a martyrion?) was added at the west end.

Eventually, a considerable time after the town had passed finally into Turkish hands, the church was converted for use as a mosque, though without any major structural alteration beyond the addition of a minaret to the cruciform annex.

PERIOD I. THE FIRST CHURCH

In spite of later rebuildings, the plan of the first church is well enough preserved to be reconstructed with confidence. That this is so is due in part to its distinctive construction and decoration, and in part to the fact that where possible the successive rebuilders incorporated its walls, piers and columns in their own work. Damage by fire and weather has affected these less than it has the lighter stonework of the later accretions.

The basis of the plan is a rectangle some 25 m. from east to west by 27·5 m. from north to south. Four cruciform piers, standing almost 11 m. apart, form a square in the centre, and each of these piers is joined to the exterior walls by an arcade two bays long. The north and south arms of the resultant cross are reduced to one bay in depth by transverse arcades each supported on three columns, with L-shaped masonry piers at the points where they join the arcades of the cross. The narthex, which had one outer door and gave entry through three doors to the west arm of the cross, runs the full width of the church and is about 6 m. across. At the east end, the inscribed apse and its two flanking chambers occupy a rectangle of similar size. The total exterior length of the building was about 36·5 m. The only other exterior door of this period now visible is on the south side, and gives direct access to the area behind the south transverse arcade. The corresponding section of the north outer wall has been destroyed.

For convenience of reference the plan (Fig. 1) has been divided into lettered sections, and the piers numbered. For purposes of description the church is assumed to be oriented east and west. (In fact, owing no doubt to the exigencies of the site, the orientation is approximately south-east to north-west.)

(a) *Structure*

The Outer Walls. Apart from the west wall of the narthex, the outer walls present a fairly homogeneous appearance. The material is a coarse brown limestone, and the blocks, though variable in length, have in most cases a width of 0·90 m. and a thickness of 0·60 m. They are laid flat in the north and south walls and on edge in the east wall.

The courses are somewhat irregular, especially on the exterior of the apse, as most of the material is re-used. Some of the joints are packed with small stones and pieces of brick. Of the seven windows on the south side, all but one retain their original arched heads (Pl. XXV, *b*). On the north side only the two westernmost remain, both later converted into doors.

The west wall of the narthex (Pl. XXV, *a*) is built of a fine creamy-white limestone that is used elsewhere in the church only for capitals and other decorative work.[2] It is now 25·75 m. long, some 6 m. high, and 0·70–0·75 m. thick. The large central door is flanked by three windows on either side, the intermediate spaces being treated as a series of rectangular piers crowned by capitals (Pl. XXV, *c*). These support a continuous architrave that forms the lintels of the windows. The separate blocks of this architrave, though similar to one another in their main dimensions, vary considerably in both the proportions and the cutting of their decoration.

The northern jamb of the door is still in position, but is in a very battered condition. It was decorated on the outer face with an ornate *cymation* and two rows of scroll-work.

The courses of this wall average 0·60 m. in height, and the stones, though probably re-used, are well cut and accurately jointed. The architrave blocks are obviously re-used material, dating back at least to the third century; the same can be said of the door-jamb. The pier capitals are of curious design and certainly of Byzantine date. One bears a small cross hidden among its acanthus leaves. They were apparently not made to fit the piers on which they stand: it is possible that in the original design the windows were arched like those in the rest of the church and that both capitals and architraves are additions. There seems to be no doubt as to the relation of this wall as a whole to the rest of the church, as it is bonded into the side walls at both ends.[3] There is, however, a noticeable difference in quality between the cutting of the blocks themselves and that at the corners, where some blocks were re-trimmed to bond them into the side-walls. A large cross is incised on the end of the last architrave block at the north-west corner of the church.

The East End. In contrast to the rather light construction of the rest of the church at this period, the apse is contained in a heavy mass of rubble bonded with weak mortar and faced with re-used masonry (Pl. XXII, *a*). Two badly damaged capitals more than 10 m. from the ground probably mark the springing of the semidome. They appear to be of the same general type as the pier capitals used elsewhere in the church (see p. 105). Two richly ornamented piers of white limestone, separating the three arched windows of the apse, are still visible, but any other decoration that may have existed is now masked by a later apse, of smaller radius, built inside the original one (Pl. XXIII, *a*).

---

[2] A similar stone is used in the seats of the theatre at Aspendos, as well as in smaller quantities at Perge and at Side.

[3] I assumed for some time that the bonding was secondary to the wall itself and that the latter had originally formed part of a much earlier building of the type of the Palaestra of Cornutus at Perge (Niemann and Petersen, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 41–4). The present conclusion is the result of discussion with Mr. Ward Perkins followed by a re-examination on the ground in 1954.

The chambers flanking the apse are now largely in ruins, but the plan of the northern one (A on the plan) is recoverable, while the southern one (B) provides some evidence of the type of roofing used (see p. 108). Both are of one build with the apse and the outer walls.

The Body of the Church. All the four cruciform piers supporting the crossing are still visible, and appear to be complete in plan, owing to their incorporation in the piers of Period II. Their lower parts are built, like the outer walls, of massive limestone blocks (Pl. XXIV, *b*), but in the upper storey it appears that only the two longer (inner) arms of each were of this construction, the short outer arms being of smaller and rougher masonry.

These cruciform piers are connected with the outer walls of the square by two-bay arcades, which rest on columns in the east and west arms of the cross (Pl. XXIV, *d*), and, in the north and south arms, on the L-shaped piers that terminate the transverse arcades. In the latter case, the outer of each pair of arches springs directly from the outer wall, without the support of a pilaster or corbel. In each case the springing of the inner arch from the cruciform pier is marked by a heavy limestone capital. Similar capitals also occur on the L-shaped piers (below, p. 105). In all, ten columns were used in the lower storey of the church; five of these survive. All are alike in being of a grey crystalline marble, with a slight entasis, and the upper and lower mouldings are compatible with a date in the second or third century A.D. The only column-base visible above the modern ground level (which in most places appears to be from 0·30 to 1·00 m. above the pavement of the church) is in grey-white marble, of Roman Attic form, with most of the upper torus cut away. All the extant columns have white limestone capitals, which vary somewhat among themselves but are all of developed Byzantine as opposed to Roman type (see pp. 105–106). Two of these, in the south transverse arcade, bear parts of a dedicatory inscription (see p. 112, no. 3).

The following arches are preserved on the lower storey.

East arm of the cross—All four, with both the supporting columns.

South arm of the cross—Five (the three arches springing from pier VI are largely destroyed, although some traces of them remain).

West arm of the cross—Parts of all four, in spite of the removal of both columns.

North arm of the cross—The spandrel of one arch attached to pier IV (piers III and VII have been almost completely destroyed, and there is no sign of any of the columns of the transverse arcade) (Pl. XXIV, *a*).

Both arches and spandrels are built of Roman-type pink bricks, averaging 0·31 by 0·16 by 0·045 m.; they are well laid, with thin joints of pinkish mortar. The spandrel over the south column of D is decorated on its south face with a plain equal-armed cross formed of bricks projecting slightly from the face.

The Corner Spaces. Of the four spaces at the corners of the church proper, little remains beyond the bare walls. The two at the eastern end (C and E on the plan) opened into the chambers flanking the apse (A and B) through large doors, which were later blocked. These had monolithic lintels relieved by flat arches. E appears to have had a wooden ceiling, supported on a beam running from a corbel in the centre of its east wall to a point above the lower capital of pier VI (see also p. 106).

The Narthex. The wall separating the body of the church from the narthex is preserved to an average height of 7 m. in its central and southern sections: the northern section has been almost completely destroyed. It is constructed of mortared rubble somewhat resembling that used in the filling of the apse, and appears to be bonded into piers XI and XII. The three doors leading into the church proper have marble jambs and lintels taken from an earlier building (Plate XXIII, *b*). A hole in the wall between the narthex and M shows no sign of being original.[4] A large opening, later blocked, over the central door is of uncertain period.[5]

The outer wall of the narthex has already been described (p. 102). The date of the conversion into a door of the second of the three windows on either side of the main outer door is dubious. It is apparently earlier than the cutting of the inscription of Leon (p. 112, no. 4), and is perhaps to be connected with the addition of the cruciform annex.

A series of blocks cut with holes for beams, in the inner wall of the narthex, suggests that it had a wooden ceiling, with perhaps a gallery above. The only evidence for its internal arrangements at this period is provided by a stub of wall projecting from and bonded into the inner wall near its south end. This may possibly have served to screen a staircase leading to the hypothetical gallery just mentioned.

The Upper Storey. At the upper level the following remains of Period I can be distinguished:

(1) The apse, up to at least the level of the upper capitals.
(2) Pier IV, west and south arms, with capitals (Pl. XXII, *b*).
(3) Pier V, north and west arms, with capitals, as well as part of the south arm.
(4) Pier IX, all four arms with capitals (Pls. XXIII, *e*, XXIV, *e*).
(5) Pier XII, partly destroyed and without a capital.

The capitals on the west and south arms of pier IX differ considerably from those used elsewhere in the church (p. 105).

Of the clerestory, if indeed such existed, there are no remains.

(b) *Decoration*

The Doors and Windows. The three doors connecting the church with the narthex, as well as the outer door on the south side, are all part of the original structure of the church. All have marble jambs and lintels, which are re-used material dating from about the middle of the second century A.D. In all except the central west door, these have mouldings similar to those commonly used on architraves, namely three fasciae divided by astragali and crowned by an ovolo and cymation. The south outer door has in addition a cornice surmounted by two corbels of curious design bearing a semicircular conch.[6] The corbels and conch appear to be contemporary with the church. The central west door differs from the rest in its greater size, and in that the three fasciae of jambs and lintel are replaced by a single convex panel, while the lintel is surmounted by a cornice supported at the ends on consoles. Unfortunately this door, and especially its consoles, suffered badly in the fire.

---

[4] That this hole was at some time a door appears from Rott's account (*op. cit.*, p. 44). It had a carved wooden lintel, shown in his fig. 2.

[5] This opening may have been occupied in Period I by an arcade forming the front of a gallery over the narthex.

Some of the finest decorative work in the church is to be found in the eight carved panels that cover the inner ends of two limestone piers separating the windows of the apse. Each pier has two panels side by side on its inner face, and one on each long side adjacent to the inner corner. The panels, some 2 m. high and 0·35 m. wide, each bear a continuous acanthus-scroll enriched with flowers, bunches of fruit, and in a few instances specifically Christian symbols such as crosses and fish. Their close resemblance in detail to the pier- and column-capitals seem to confirm that they are of the same period as the latter, as the structure would suggest (Pl. XXVI, *c*).

The Pier-capitals. Out of a probable total of at least forty-four or forty-six pier-capitals in the original church, twenty-four are preserved in varying states of completeness. Only four of those that survive appear to have been designed for the purpose; two of these, the lower capitals of piers I and II, are probably re-used. They have a main design on each side consisting of a cross flanked by acanthus. Below this is a narrow band of cable-pattern and a row of alternate crosses and flowers inscribed in circles (Pl. XXIV, *d*).

The capitals on the south and west arms of pier IX at the upper level differ from the rest in being of marble and, so far as can be ascertained from the surviving fragments, had a design of two vine-sprays on each long side and a cantharus, from which spring two similar sprays, on the ends. In each case the central motif is flanked by highly stylised acanthus (Pl. XXIV, *e*).

The remaining twenty are all adaptations of architrave-blocks. In all but one the original mouldings have been left intact and the two upper fasciae decorated with vine-scrolls or with patterns related to the cross-and-flower pattern mentioned above. In some cases the bottom fascia bears a leaf-design (Pl. XXVI, *a*), but in the majority it is plain. The technique is simple, consisting merely in cutting away the background to a constant depth so as to leave the design in relief, flush with the original surface. There is no under-cutting. The ends of the blocks, originally plain, were treated in the same way after being cut to a rough imitation of the fasciae and crowning moulding of an architrave.

The one exceptional architrave-capital is that in the lower storey on the east arm of pier IV (Plate XXIV, *a*). In this case only the upper mouldings were left and the space occupied by the fasciae was completely recut with a cross inscribed in two concentric circles and flanked by acanthus. The lower part of this capital is invisible owing to subsequent additions.

The Column-capitals. The white limestone column-capitals are also of two types. The first, represented by the two in the east arm of the cross (Pl. XXVII, *b*), has an even taper from a plain square abacus to a circular lower moulding decorated with a wreath-pattern. This severity of form is relieved only by a small bulbous projection below each corner of the abacus. The three capitals of the south transverse arcade are

[6] Well illustrated in Niemann and Petersen, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pl. XI.

of a lighter and more graceful shape more akin to that of a Corinthian capital (Pl. XXVII, *a*). Both types are alike in their lower mouldings as in the general character of their decoration. In all cases the bell of the capital is covered with sprays of a plant resembling a vine in habit but apparently derived from acanthus. A single ivy-leaf framed in acanthus occurs on each side of each capital.

The Wall-decoration. To judge from the extant remains alone, the interior of the first church must have presented an appearance of considerable splendour. The major part of the wall-decoration consisted of marble slabs, some of which, left in position by the Period II restorers, are still visible. Sufficient remains to show that, in the lower storey at least, all parts directly visible from the centre of the church, including walls, piers, and arches, were encased in marble. To judge from the numerous dowel-holes cut in them, the outer faces of the piers and the east walls of C and E were similarly treated. At a higher level, the south arm of pier IV shows traces of marble up as far as the upper capitals. Dowel-holes also occur at one point on the inner face of the west wall of the narthex, below the level of the windows.

Several scraps of fresco in various parts of the church may also be of this period, but all are too small and too badly preserved to be intelligible. The same can be said of a small patch of glass mosaic in the narthex above the main door leading into the body of the church. This was suppressed by vaulting of an uncertain age, but some red, blue and green tesserae can be distinguished where the vault has been destroyed.

(c) *Original Form*

Little need be said as to the restoration of the main lines of the Period I ground-plan.[7] The southern half of it is virtually complete, and there is no reason for believing that at this period the northern side of the church was substantially different. Evidence for many important details, such as the arrangement of the chancel, is naturally lacking. In elevation, likewise, the main features of the lower storey are accurately reconstructible.

The deciding factor in determining the original form of the upper parts of the church is the apse, which, if roofed with the normal semi-dome, must have had an internal height of about 14 m.

Of the type of roof used over the body of the church there is no direct evidence. The church at Paroekia in Paros, the nearest parallel available, appears to have the remains of an original vaulted and domed roofing system, supported on piers no larger in proportion to the size of the building than those of Cumanın Cami'i.[8] Here, however, there is no sign of vaulting in the lower arcades, such as is found at Paroekia, and the large spaces in the corners of the square (C, E, K, and M) produce some very difficult problems if assumed to have been vaulted. Furthermore, the immense solidity of the apse, in contrast with the rather light construction of the piers, suggests a difference in roofing between the two.

---

[7] Rott considered that the brick arcading and the inner apse were earlier than the outer walls and outer apse. The collapse of the later accretions round the original piers I and II has shown that the latter are bonded into the east wall and certainly contemporary with the outer apse. Strzygowski (*Kleinasien, ein Neuland der Kunstgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1903, pp. 168–9) suggested that the church was a *Kuppelbasilika*, a suggestion that can only refer to the final form (Period III).

[8] H. H. Jewell and F. W. Hasluck, *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates*, London, 1920.

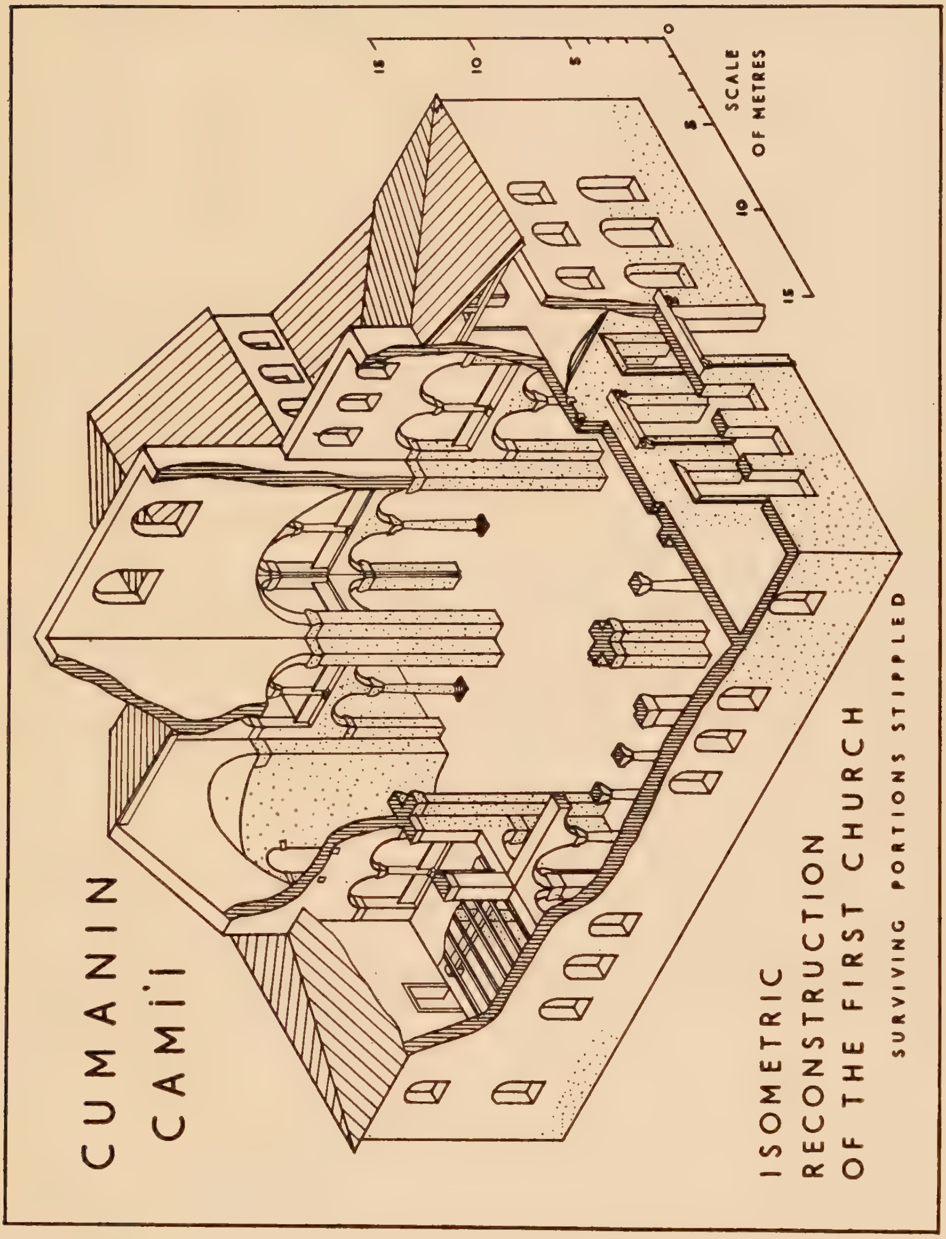

CUMANIN
CAMİ'İ
ISOMETRIC
RECONSTRUCTION
OF THE FIRST CHURCH
SURVIVING PORTIONS STIPPLED
SCALE
OF METRES
0
5
10
15
5
10
15

FIG. 2.

A flat wooden ceiling at a height sufficient to clear the top of the apse would have left a vacant space of some 4·50 m. above the upper capitals of the cruciform piers. This suggests that the church had a cross-section resembling that of St. Demetrius at Salonica or S. Agnese in Rome, consisting of a lower storey, a gallery, and a low, glazed clerestory.[9]

The relatively low position of the upper capitals of the cruciform piers suggests that they were connected at this level by arches, supporting the roof and possibly also a tower, such as still exists on the church at Alahan in the Cilician Taurus.[10]

There is also a certain amount of direct evidence for the existence of galleries, such as are implied by the transverse colonnades in the north and south arms. They are strongly suggested by the flat wooden ceilings which were probably used over the narthex and E (see p. 104). In addition, the two outer arms of pier IX at the upper level are preserved apparently intact, and carry capitals of a different type from those used elsewhere in the church (see p. 105). It seems reasonable to attribute these to Period I [11] and to account for them as having supported the arcading of the gallery. The partial preservation of the upper part of pier XII confirms this up to a point. For the clerestory there is no direct evidence. It is inferred from the assumption that the main roof was at a high level (*i.e.* of wood).

One point with regard to the upper part of the church which cannot be regarded as finally settled is the position of the end walls of the lateral arms of the cross. In Period II, when the transverse colonnade of the south arm was heavily reinforced, the outer wall was not further strengthened. This may suggest that the main weight of the upper end-wall was carried by the colonnade and not by the outer wall. On the other hand, the outer wall was in any case heavily constructed and may not have needed reinforcement. The outward pressure derived from the weight of the roof and transmitted through the arches joining the wall to piers VI and X need not have been very great, as the arches themselves are of fairly small span. At Paros, Jewell and Hasluck (*op. cit.*, pp. 49–50) were undecided on a similar point. Here, in Cumanın Cami'i, there is even less evidence from which to judge.

The roofing of Rooms A and B is poorly preserved. All four corners of A, and the two northern corners of B, show signs of square piers bonded into the walls, and thus certainly original. In B the two surviving piers are joined together by a fragmentary arch of rather roughly-dressed stones. A similar arch seems to have run along the west wall from the pier at the north-west corner: probably the roof of each consisted of a pair of cross-vaults, set side by side as in the upper church at Perge (Rott, *op. cit.*, pp. 49–50, fig. 21).

Period II. The Second Church

The second church, although it appears to have retained the main features of its predecessor's plan, differed widely from it in other respects. The piers were heavily reinforced in rough stone-work and the arches connecting them duplicated in stone. It was probably at this time that the transverse arcade in the south arm of the cross was strengthened with two masonry piers. The extant remains of this period are as follows:

---

[9] As will be seen from the accompanying isometric reconstruction (Fig. 2), the inclusion of a glazed clerestory would have resulted in a rather low ceiling in the gallery.

[10] A. C. Headlam, 'Ecclesiastical Sites in Isauria' (*Journal of Hellenic Studies: Supplementary Papers*, II), London, 1893.

[11] A large mass of masonry was added (almost certainly in Period II, as it corresponds to the Period II reinforcement in the lower storey) to the upper part of pier V. If, as is very likely, a similar addition was made to pier IX, it must have masked these two capitals. They play no part in the scheme of Period III and have, in the form of their vine-spray decoration, strong stylistic affinities to the Period I architrave-capitals.

(1) The reinforcements on the west side of pier IV, consisting of two masses of stone-work of square plan. The whole west side of the reinforced pier was decorated with a panel of fresco, which was suppressed by Period III work and only recently revealed by the collapse of the latter.

(2) Similar reinforcements on the west side of pier V, partially suppressed in the same way.

(3) A similar reinforcement on the east sides of piers VIII and IX.

(4) Reinforcement of piers VI and X, connected by contemporary arches to those of piers V and IX.

(5) Two new piers underpinning the transverse arcade in the south arm. Hartel's plan[12] shows the eastern of these piers to have been connected by an arch (now destroyed) to the reinforcement of pier VI. There is, however, no evidence in the present state of the building that these piers do not go with the groined vaults (probably of Period III) that they support (Pl. XXIV, *c*).

(6) Probably, though not certainly, the heavy round arches to north and south of D and L (Pl. XXIII, *d*). These all suppress the Period I arches, but their relationship to certainly identifiable Period III work is dubious.

(7) On the upper level, the two arches above each of those mentioned in (6) are possibly also of this period, though they bear a strong resemblance to others that are certainly later (see p. 110).

The masonry of this period is rough, wedged where necessary with pieces of tile, and backed by large quantities of mortared rubble. The stones used are generally small, but some larger blocks, including small columns, are used at important points. A noticeable feature, which persists into Period III, is the use of double rings of voussoirs in all the arches.

The general strengthening of the structure at this period, unconnected as it appears to be with any major change of plan, seems to point to a re-roofing in heavier materials, probably with four barrel vaults radiating from a central dome. The adoption of such a scheme would have resulted in the suppression of the clerestory and probably also an alteration in the arrangement of the galleries. There is, however, very little evidence of the form taken by the gallery (if any) at this stage.

The fresco on pier IV, while fairly complete, is extremely faded. An area 2·20 m. high and 2·45 m. wide is enclosed by a blue border 0·05 m. wide bearing faint traces of an inscription in white letters. The panel is occupied by a representation of the Visitation. In the centre, the Virgin Mary and St. Elizabeth, standing three-quarter-face, embrace one another, while at the sides, standing full-face, are two male figures presumably to be identified with Joseph and Zacharias. All four figures have simple blue *nimbi*.[13]

---

[12] Niemann and Petersen, *op. cit.*, pl. X. This plan presents a more reliable picture of the vaulting of the mosque than does that of Rott (*op. cit.*, fig. 18).

[13] For a similar representation, see Cabrol and Leclercq, *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne*, VI, i, coll. 1003–4, fig. 5230 (the Genoels-Elderen Diptych).

PERIOD III. THE THIRD CHURCH

Period III is represented by the following remains:

(1) Arcades, of three arches on the south side and two on the north, blocking the north and south arms of the cross and producing the appearance of a basilican plan (Pl. XXIII, *c*).

(2) A modification of the apse, reducing its span by 1·40 m. and its height by some 3 m. This new apse, built inside the older one, had three small arched windows, as well as a circular one in the semidome (Pl. XXIII, *a*).

(3) A large arch spanning the east end of M, and two smaller ones across the west end. The vaulting of M is perhaps also of this period.

(4) Cross-vaulting in I and probably also in J (Pl. XXIV, *c*).

(5) At the gallery level, above each of the two new lower arcades, a wall pierced with four arched openings, and possibly also those arches catalogued under Period II (p. 109, para. 7). Alternatively, all these openings, which appear to be windows, may belong to a later period intermediate between Periods III and IV. The westernmost of the southern range retains a small piece of fresco showing a building in various shades of yellow on a deep-blue ground. A distinctive type of plaster, used under this fresco, also occurs on some of the central arches on this level at the south side.

Technically the work of this period is similar to that of Period II, although the blocks, especially in the piers, are rather larger. Both the semidome of the new apse and all the arches of the lower storey are pointed in varying degrees. In both orders of the nave the use of 'double-ring' arches is carried on from Period II.

The decoration of this period seems always to have been scanty. In the apse, a few green glass tesserae adhere to the plaster cornice, while in one of the arches on the west side of M a few scraps of painting, mainly with a brocade-design in blue and pink, are still visible. The only sign of stone-carving is a very simple base that supported a pilaster dividing the two lights of the central window of the apse. A scar in the centre of the apse probably marks the position occupied by the episcopal throne.

PERIOD IV. THE MOSQUE

Turkish alterations to the main church after its conversion into a mosque have left no certain trace except the *mihrab* that occupies the southern half of the apse. It is a simple construction in small stone blocks and pink stucco. A minaret was added to the cruciform annex, described below.

REMAINS OF UNCERTAIN PERIOD

Of these the most important are a large cruciform building attached to the west end, the vaulting of the narthex, and a northward extension of the narthex.

This last, built in thick rubble walling and entered through an enlarged window of the Period I outer wall, is of problematic date. Its purpose may have been to provide an additional entrance to compensate for the blocking of the main west door of the narthex by the cruciform annex. Alternatively, it may have led to a now-destroyed side-chapel. A second door (later blocked) in the outer wall of the church a few metres farther to the east, was also formed by enlarging a Period I window. This, and two large stones of a wall running north from the north-west corner of A, combine to suggest that at some period there was a considerable complex of additions in this direction.

The vaults of the narthex, mainly of semicircular section, have now fallen, taking with them most of the walling that supported them independently of the main structure. Such fragments as remain are roughly built of concrete and small rubble, which provides no clue to their date.

The cruciform annex has unfortunately no structural connection with the church except by way of the outer wall of the narthex. It appears to have consisted originally of twelve square piers connected by arches and roofed either with intersecting barrel vaults or with a dome and four barrel vaults. The ends of the three free arms were possibly filled in with light cross walls. At the same time, or at a later stage, the open arches were blocked by thin walls leaving deep niches on the interior. The end wall of the south arm (R on the plan) appears to have been rebuilt in Turkish times with a large flat-lintelled window near the roof. The roofing, which is intact, consists of barrel vaults over the arms and a slightly pointed cross-vault over the central space. The transition from the one to the other is masked by brick arches springing from stone corbels. The central cross-vault is perhaps later than the rest of the roof. There is no sign of decoration of any kind, nor of anything, except the plan, which might suggest its function. The plan suggests that it may have been a martyrion.

Of the Turkish additions to the annex, the minaret and the main door at the west end are the most noticeable. The door, which replaces an older one in the same position, is very well built of contrasting marbles. A tablet let into the wall above is uninscribed. The question of how much of this building is actually Turkish is almost impossible to settle, as the construction, except in the case of the minaret and door just mentioned, is consistently nondescript. As a rough estimate, it might be equated with Periods II to IV of the church.

THE INSCRIPTIONS

The following inscriptions survive:

(1) Built into the foot of the wall, just to the south of the Turkish door at the west end of the cruciform annex. Statue base, limestone, ht. 0·82 m., w. 0·58 m., th. uncertain, letters 0·035 m. Broken below, damaged above:

Μ(ᾶρκον) Πλάνκιον Μ(άρκου) υ(ἱὸν) Πλατω
νιανὸν Πρόκλον ἄνδρα κ[α]
λὸν καὶ ἀγαθὸν γένους ἱερατ̣[ι]
κ̣οῦ γυμνασιαρχικοῦ ἄρχῆ̣[ς]
κο̣[. . .]ξαντα [τῆς πόλ[εως]
καὶ εἰρηναρχήσαντα. [τὸν]
δ̣ὲ ἀνδρίαντα ἀνέστησ[αν]
Μ̣(ᾶρκος) Πλάνκιος Πλάτων καὶ
Α̣(ὔλου) Τιβ(ερίου) θυγ(ατὴρ) Καλπουρνιανή.

Plate XXVI, *b*.

(2) Built into Period II masonry on north side of pier IX. Statue base (?), limestone, ht. 0·88 m., w. (shaft) 0·40 m., (below) 0·46 m., th. uncertain; broken above, moulding below inscription destroyed; line 4 partly erased by a groove cut across the stone. Letters well cut, 0·04–0·045 m.

Κούρτιαι Παυ
λεῖναι ἀρχιέ
ρειαι τοὺς
[. . . .]ου[ς.]

Plate XXVI, *d.*

(3) On the north faces of the eastern and central capitals of the south transverse arcade. The western capital, now damaged, must have completed the inscription; letters well cut, in relief, *c.* 0·04 m.

East capital	Centre capital	West capital
εὐχὴ	Γεωρ	[γίου.]

For another example of an inscription carried on from one capital to the next, see *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, III, p. 89.

(4) On the outer face of the west wall of the narthex, to the south of the central window on the south side, and apparently cut after the conversion of the window into a door. Block 0·60 m. high, 0·66 m. wide, 0·70 m. thick; letters 0·02–0·04 m., roughly cut. Below and to left of main inscription a recessed panel bearing a cross in relief:

+ Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τὸν δοῦ(λόν) σου
Λέοντα
cross ὁ χρ(ιστ)οῦ πά̣(ππα)ς.
᾿Ι(ησοῦ)ς *in* χ(ριστὸ)ς
Λ̣ *panel*
νι(κᾶ.)

Plate XXV, *d.*

A text is given in Niemann and Petersen (*op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 163, no. 27). The restoration given above is based on that of Rott (*op. cit.*, p. 46).

CONCLUSIONS

The following facts may be said to have emerged from this survey:

(1) That the church in its original form (Period I) was of a cruciform type, and not a five-aisled basilica nor a *Kuppelbasilika.*

(2) That the large apse with its rectangular side-chambers belongs to the original form of the church, whereas the smaller apse inside it is of late date.

(3) That the church, probably at first roofed in wood, was later strengthened, probably to enable it to receive a dome and vaults (Period II).

(4) That in its third phase it was replanned as a basilica (Period III).

The principal points in doubt appear to be as follows:

(1) The large round arches at the ends of what eventually became the nave arcades may belong to Period II, when the building was probably still of cruciform plan; or may, as their resemblance in technique to the smaller arches over the Period III nave arcades suggests, represent a final alteration made after the adoption of the basilican plan, though probably before the conversion of the church into a mosque. If the latter is the case, it is probable that they merely replace earlier arches of more or less similar form (on the plan, Fig. 1, they are marked as belonging to Period II).

(2) Most, if not all, of the vaulting in the lower storey of the south side of the church is probably of Period III, although this is by no means certain.

(3) The cruciform annex contains work of one, or more probably two, pre-Turkish periods, which cannot be certainly equated with those of the church proper.

The architectural form of the first church is one that appears to have been recorded hitherto from only two other sites, the Panaghia Hekatontapyliani in Paros (see p. 106, n. 8) and a recently excavated church in Thasos.[14] Both these examples have been attributed to the sixth century. Cumanın Cami'i differs from them in having a rectangular, as opposed to a cruciform, exterior plan. This feature, however, may be due mainly to the necessity of fitting as large a church as possible on to a restricted site.

The origin of the plan is probably to be found in the earlier aisled-cruciform churches, such as that of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs at Gerasa, built in 464/5,[15] and the cruciform church at Salona, which is probably slightly later.[16] Both of these have cruciform plans based on the intersection of two basilican naves each provided with two aisles. In both, the west arm of the cross is slightly longer than the others. At Gerasa the plan is completed by four small chambers at the corners, so as to form a complete square on the exterior, while at Salona the arms of the cross are free-standing, and the outer walls run parallel to the interior colonnades. It is basically the Salona plan that appears at Paros, with the important addition of galleries, and it was probably only a desire to make the galleries continuous over the whole length of the church that caused the introduction of the transverse arcades in the north and south arms.

At Attalia the general plan of the Parian church is taken over substantially intact, but reduced in scale and with the corner squares incorporated into the body of the church to provide still more space for the congregation. The inclusion of the corner squares was probably made easier by the smaller scale of the building and by the use of wood for the floors and roofs.

The form of the east end, with its apse imbedded in the outer wall and flanked by large side-chambers, is by no means unusual on the south coast of Asia Minor,[17] though rare elsewhere outside Syria, Palestine, and Egypt.

The use of a closed, as opposed to a columnar, narthex is probably a sign that the church is not to be dated earlier than the sixth century. The sculptural decoration, apart from the re-used door-jambs, the pier-capitals of the outer narthex wall, and the lower capitals of piers I and II, is almost certainly a single series cut for this particular building. The style of all the pieces in question, and especially of the capitals, is a highly individual one, and it is clear from the stone used that the carving must have been executed locally. There is a noticeable consistency in the use of certain motifs such as vine-sprays, acanthus, single ivy leaves and especially a profusion of small flowers, and in the mannerisms visible in their cutting. The more specifically Christian elements in the decoration, which include small crosses, eagles, and fish, always as part of a larger design, are none of them of late origin, and it might be suggested that the whole set of decorative pieces, in spite of the absence of such specifically sixth-century features as deep undercutting, is nevertheless very little later than the reign of Justinian. Kautzsch, in his discussion of the capitals, regards them as local imitations of a transitional form between the Corinthian type and the fully-developed Byzantine *Kämpferkapitell*; on this hypothesis they are unlikely to be much later than the time of Justinian.[18]

---

[14] A. K. Orlandos, Ἡ Ξυλόστεγος Παλαιοχριστιανικὴ Βασιλικὴ τῆς Μεσογειακῆς Λεκάνης, vol. I, Athens, 1952, p. 189, fig. 155.

[15] J. W. Crowfoot, in *Gerasa*, New Haven, 1938, pp. 256 ff.

[16] W. Gerber, M. Abramić and R. Egger, *Forschungen in Salona*, vol. I, Vienna, 1917, pp. 23–39. Here the north and south arms of the cross were completely cut off by transverse arcades.

[17] Alahan, two churches at Perge (Rott, *op. cit.*, pp. 48 ff., figs. 19–21) and one at Kanlı Divane (Strzygowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–2, figs. 40–1). The subject of inscribed apses is treated extensively by Crowfoot (*Early Churches in Palestine* (Schweich Lectures, 1937), London, 1941, pp. 65–7).

The style of the first restoration of the church (Period II) is not sufficiently clear to allow of any but the vaguest dating. The history of Attaleia from the seventh century on was a troubled one, and there were many occasions on which the first church might have been partially destroyed. A date in the ninth or tenth century is as likely as any.

The third church (Period III) is distinguished by its pointed arches, but it contains so much older work that its form is of little assistance in dating it. It is even possible that it may have been built during the brief occupation of the city by Christians from Cyprus in the latter half of the fourteenth century.

The conversion of the church into a mosque is perhaps, on the evidence of the name 'Korkut Cami'i', to be attributed to Korkut, a son of Bayazit II, who was governor of the province of Tekke early in the sixteenth century.[19]

M. H. Ballance

---

[18] R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Studien zur Spätantiken Kunstgeschichte, 9), Berlin, 1936, pp. 182–3.

[19] Cl. Huart in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. II, Leyden and London, 1927, p. 1078.

THE AQUEDUCT OF ASPENDOS

(Plates XXVIII–XXXII)

AMONG the many fine antiquities of the Roman period that are preserved in Pamphylia, none is more immediately impressive than the aqueduct of Aspendos. The upper town of Aspendos occupies an oval, flat-topped hill, some 50 acres in extent and rising about 60 m. above the meadows on the right bank of the Köyürırmağı, the ancient river Eurymedon. The rock of which the hill is composed is a coarse, pebbly conglomerate, and despite its modest height the hill-top is sharply defined, with steeply scarped slopes on all four sides. The eastern part of the Pamphylian plain, unlike the level, terraced limestones of the Antalya district, consists of gently rolling quaternary formations. The foothills of the Isaurian mountains are not far distant to the east, and there is higher ground only a short way to the north. But the site of Aspendos was cut off from the former by the Eurymedon itself, and from the latter by the wide, shelving valley of one of its western tributaries; and although the site is not one of outstanding natural strength, it was the obvious choice for a settlement in a district which, in antiquity as today, commanded the lowest practicable crossing for all land-traffic between eastern and western Pamphylia.

The earlier inhabitants were evidently content to draw their water from wells in the plain below, or from the cisterns which are such a conspicuous feature of the city-plateau. But, as in so many cities of southern Asia Minor, the second and third centuries brought prosperity to Aspendos. To this period belong the transformation of the Agora by the addition of a basilica and a monumental, marble-clad nymphaeum; the construction of a large theatre against the slopes of a semi-detached hill on the east side of the town and, in the plain between the hill and the river, a substantial bath-building and a stadium; and, at once the most ambitious, as it was certainly the most practical, feature of this lavish building-programme, the building of an aqueduct to bring directly to the upper city the water of the hills that lie to the north.

An account of the aqueduct, with admirable line-illustrations, based partly on measurements and partly on photographs, was published by Lanckoronski in 1890.[1] As a concise, factual record of the surviving remains it could hardly be bettered, and so far as the present writer is aware its conclusions have never been questioned. It is the purpose of the present note to suggest, however, that on one important point these conclusions were mistaken, and that, so far from being the work of two successive periods, it is a uniform monument as it stands. Except for possible minor repairs, the surviving remains are all part of the original building.[2]

Asia Minor is no exception to the rule that ancient aqueducts were normally built on

---

[1] K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, Vienna, 1890, vol. i, pp. 120–4; the text of this section is by G. Niemann.

[2] The occasion of the observations contained in this note was a visit to Pamphylia undertaken in April 1955 in the company of Mr. William L. MacDonald, with whom the writer was fortunate to be able to discuss on the ground the structural problems involved. The visit was made possible by the generosity of the Trustees of the Leverhulme Research Grants, to whom the writer wishes to express his grateful thanks. I am indebted to my father, Mr. B. Ward Perkins, for advice on the hydraulic problems involved.

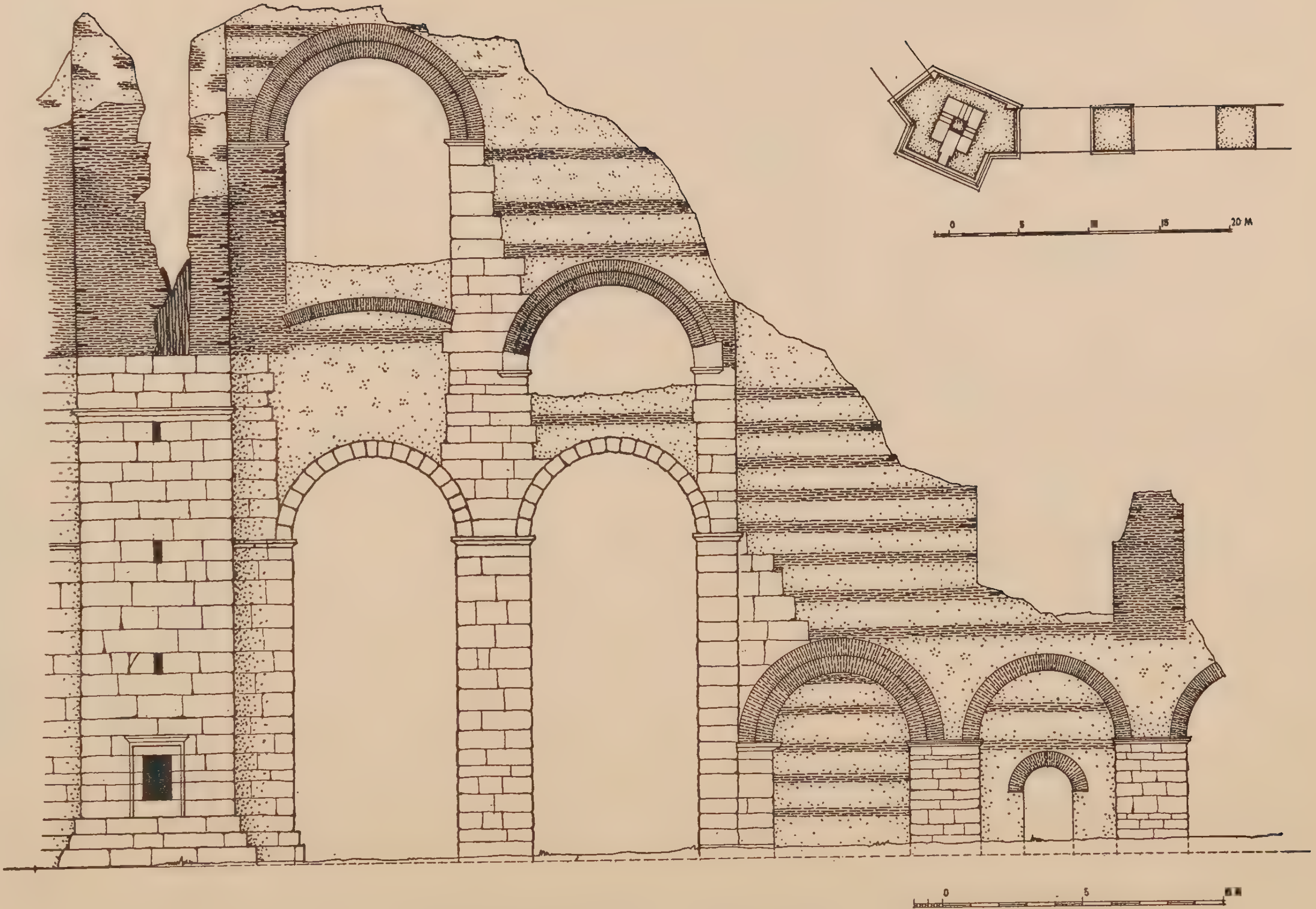


FIG. 1.—THE SOUTH PRESSURE-TOWER: THE SOUTH WING, LOOKING EAST.

the principle of allowing water to find its own level down a gentle slope. The route chosen was rarely direct. Even at the expense of doubling, or even trebling, the distance to be covered, it was normally more economical to follow the general line of the natural contours, whether in the form of a buried conduit (the usual procedure) or, particularly in mountainous or sparsely inhabited country, of an open leet, such as one finds, for example, in the aqueducts of Elaeusa-Sebaste and of Korykos in Cilicia. The line of the natural contours might be modified by tunnelling through short stretches of high ground, or by bridging intervening gulleys. But the majestic arcades of the Roman Campagna and great bridges like the Pont du Gard were the exception, only adopted where the alternative route would have been prohibitively long, or where there was in fact no alternative route that would have brought the water to its destination at a level high enough for satisfactory distribution.

In all of this the task of the Roman architects in laying out an aqueduct closely resembled that of a modern railway-engineer. Then, as now, the choice of line depended in the last resort on a calculation of the costs of construction and of maintenance. The Pont du Gard was built because it would have cost more to skirt the gorge of the River Gard than to cross it boldly. It was for precisely the same reason that the Romans in their aqueducts made very little use of any systems involving piping under pressure. They were well aware that water in a sealed tube will find its own level. The applications of this principle are specifically discussed by Vitruvius; [3] and it was regularly used for local distribution, whether to the great public baths and fountains or for internal domestic use. What limited its application on a larger scale was the fact that the best available medium for conveying water under heavy pressure was lead piping; and not only was lead an expensive commodity, but the amount required to carry a flow equivalent to that of a normal *specus* across a valley under pressure was disproportionately large.

There were, of course, exceptions. A well-authenticated and remarkably early example is the Republican aqueduct of Alatri. Of this aqueduct, which from the terms of the inscription recording its construction must have been built before 90 B.C.,[4] we know that the source was near Guarcino, about 12 km. distant from, and 125 m. above, the receiving tank, near the Porta di San Pietro of Alatri; but that about 3 km. out of Alatri it crossed the Cosa stream and the Fosso del Purpuro by means of a bridge consisting of two tiers of arches built of cut stone, the *specus* of which lay 101 m. below the level of the receiving tank. It is evident that the Republican engineers were perfectly capable of conveying water in bulk under the considerable pressure of 100 m., or approximately 10 atmospheres. That their successors did not normally choose this method of crossing an obstacle can only mean that for all ordinary purposes high-level bridging was found to be cheaper and easier to maintain.

[3] viii. 6. 1–9.

[4] *CIL* x, 1, 5807, which records that the censor L. Betilienus Varus 'lacum balinearium lacum ad portam aquam in opidum adqu(e) arduom pedes CCCXL fornicesq(ue) fecit fistulas soledas fecit'. According to Angelo Secchi, who first identified the remains (*Intorno ad alcuni avanzi di opere idrauliche antiche rinvenuti nella città di Alatri*, Rome, 1865; cf. *Bull. Inst. Corr. Arch.* 1865, pp. 65–7), the figure of 340 Roman feet corresponds almost exactly with the 101 m. that separate the levels of the bridge over the Fosso del Purpuro and the receiving tank. The accuracy of these figures was questioned by, among others, R. Bassel in *Ann. Inst. Corr. Arch.*, 1881, pp. 204–13 (cf. *Not. Scav.* 1882, pp. 417–19), but the basic identification is not in doubt. Bassel (*loc. cit.*) claimed to have found remains of the 'fistulas soledas' in the form of lead pipes, cast in cylindrical form and beaten to increase their strength, with an internal diameter of 105 mm. and a thickness of up to 31 mm. It would have required nine such pipes to carry the maximum flow of water of which the *specus* of the aqueduct was capable. For the inscription (= *ILS*, 5348) see further A. W. Van Buren, *Rend. Pont. Acc.* ix, 1933, pp. 137–44.

There are several well-attested examples of the transport of water under pressure in Roman Gaul. The water-supply of Arles was taken across the bed of the Rhône to the suburb of Trinquetaille in lead pipes.[5] In this case there was clearly no practical alternative. The early-Imperial aqueduct that brought the waters of La Martinière, near Izieux, to Lyon, 75 km. distant, in addition to eleven ordinary high-level bridges incorporated no less than three bridges across which the water must have been brought under pressure.[6] It is possible that the aqueduct of Rodez in Aquitania made use of a similar bridge; [7] and no doubt careful survey would reveal others elsewhere. By far the most complete and spectacular surviving example is, however, the aqueduct of Aspendos. Here, the distance between the higher ground to the north and the acropolis was well over a kilometre; and although the valley is not any deeper than that spanned by the Pont du Gard, it is wide and shelving, and it would have been out of the question to construct a high-level bridge of this length.

The solution adopted was a long and relatively low, arched bridge of conventional type across the main valley, flanked by two shorter low-level sections. At either end of the main bridge there was a lofty pressure-tower.[8] The function of these towers was to receive the water from the preceding section at its original height, and to deliver it from the same height back into the next section, thereby dividing into three the total distance to be covered under pressure. The length of the northern sector cannot be exactly calculated, since the ground slopes gently downwards towards the tower, enabling the pipe to be brought in at or below ground-level. The two towers were nearly a kilometre apart, whereas little more than a hundred metres separates the southern tower from the steep north-western slopes of the acropolis, to which it was linked by an arcade which carried the water across at a level intermediate between that of the main bridge and the tops of the towers. Why it should have been felt necessary to build these two towers we can only surmise. At both points the aqueduct changes direction, slightly at the northern end, sharply at the south; and, as Vitruvius notes in the passage already cited, such a bend would be a danger-point if the water were under pressure. Since, however, both bends could have been eliminated by a very slight change in the line of the main bridge, this hardly seems to be a sufficient reason for the adoption of so elaborate a device. More probably it was the desire to subdivide the total distance to be covered under pressure. The pressure would have remained the same in either case (except in the final section), but, as Vitruvius remarks in the same passage, such subdivision greatly facilitated maintenance. It may be noted, moreover, that the total distance to be covered was rather greater than is at first apparent, since the receiving tanks must have lain beyond the summit of the acropolis, at some point suitable for distribution to the city's public bath-buildings on the low ground to the south-east. It is by no means impossible that some part of the huge system of cisterns underneath the Agora and the basilica may have been planned in connection with the building of the aqueduct.

---

[5] *CIL* xii, 5701, 2.

[6] Adrien Blanchet, *Recherches sur les Aqueducs et Cloaques de la Gaule romaine*, 1908, pp. 81–4. It is of first-century workmanship, faced with *opus reticulatum* and brick, and was certainly already in use under Hadrian (*CIL* xiii, 1, 1623). I owe this reference to Mrs. D. W. Brogan.

[7] Blanchet, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[8] From the figures given by Lanckoronski the approximate heights above sea-level of the various elements can be calculated as follows (disregarding the slight fall along the aqueduct from north to south):

Top of pressure-towers	61 m.
Water-channel of main bridge	30 m.
Water-channel of final sector	47 m.
Receiving-tanks in the Agora	55 m.
Bath-buildings	30 m.

The main bridge (Pl. XXIX, *a*), many arches of which are still standing to their full height, was a simple and very massive structure built of squared stone about a core of mortared rubble. Apart from a continuous projecting string-course resting on the key-stones of the arches, the only features that break the severity of the masonry masses are the projecting courses on the inner faces of the piers; and even these are not decorative in intention, but served to carry the centring for the arches. The stone of the facing is the local conglomerate, a very coarse stone, the exposed surfaces of which were normally drafted, with rough projecting bosses. The joints (Pl. XXXII, *a*) were carefully finished and pointed in mortar, to prevent weathering, and to give an appearance of finely jointed ashlar-work. At the deepest point the crown of the arches is about 15 m. above the stream-bed, and the width of the whole structure (5·50 m.) shows that it must have served, not only as an aqueduct, but also as a road-bridge. The water was carried across it in limestone pipes. The writer did not see any of these pipes, but according to Lanckoronski (whose illustration is here reproduced, Fig. 2) the individual blocks were cubical, measuring 86 cm. each way, and the water flowed through a central circular channel, 26 cm. in diameter, with a projecting flange on each block carefully mortised into a corresponding socket on the adjoining block. There must have been a tank at the top of each tower, into and out of which the water flowed at ordinary atmospheric pressure.

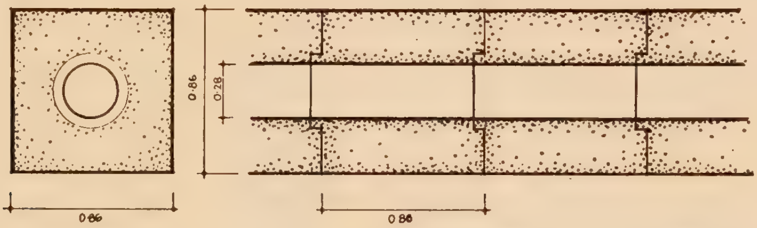


FIG. 2.—LIMESTONE WATER-PIPES FROM THE AQUEDUCT (*after Lanckoronski*).

The two pressure-towers are almost identical, the only substantial difference between them being that, whereas the change of direction is very slight in the case of the north tower (less than 5 degrees), at the southern end there is a difference of nearly 50 degrees in the alignment of the two sections. The general form of the towers is sufficiently indicated in Plates XXVIII and XXX and Figs. 1 and 3.[9] Each consists essentially of the tower proper, a tall, slender structure, 3 m. square, containing a staircase; and abutting symmetrically on this tower two arched ramps. The construction of these ramps is rather complicated, but the intention behind them is clear enough, namely to carry the water-pipes up to the top of the tower and back again at an angle of not more than 30 degrees with the horizontal. Once again we are reminded of the words of Vitruvius, who states that, in taking water across a valley under pressure, care should be taken to level out the rise and fall as far as possible and to avoid sudden bends.[10]

---

[9] Fig. 1 has been redrawn, with minor corrections, from Lanckoronski, *op. cit.*, fig. 97.

[10] viii. 6. 5–6, and particularly the passage: quodsi non venter in vallibus factus fuerit nec substructum ad libram factum, sed geniculus erit, erumpet et dissolvet fistularum commissuras.

One of the most singular features of these unusual structures is the great variety of material used in their construction. The lower part of the central tower and the piers of the adjoining arches (Pls. XXVIII, *a*, XXX, *a*, *b*, *d*) are of squared stone, identical with that of the main bridge. The upper part of the tower is, on the other hand, of brick; and whereas the two pairs of tall arches on either side of the tower have stone voussoirs, the remaining arches are all turned in brick. The ramps themselves, where they are not pierced with arches, and certain parts of the arched structure are built in a hard, mortared rubble, resembling concrete, which is laced at more or less regular intervals with courses of brick, and which is brought to a vertical face by means of small, irregular blocks of stone, hand-laid and liberally mortared so as to produce a smooth, compact surface. All three types of masonry are represented also in the bridge that links the south tower to the citadel, with an additional variant in the upper of the two orders of arches, the piers of which are built of the same mortared rubble, but with quoins of brick (Pl. XXX, *c*).

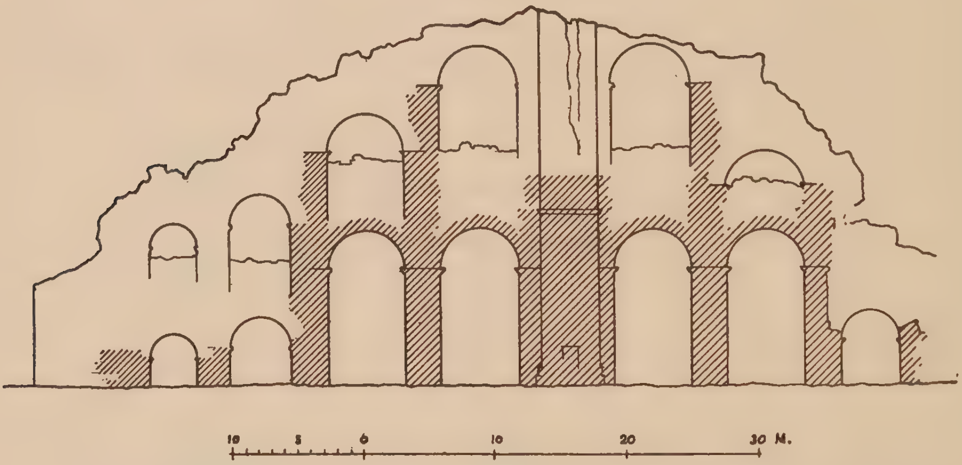


Fig. 3.—Diagrammatic Drawing Showing the Use of Dressed Masonry in the North Pressure-tower

It is hardly surprising that such a variety of materials should have suggested the possibility that a part at any rate of this work may be due to later repairs. This would seem to find confirmation in the fact that the masonry of the upper parts is of a type that is most unusual locally in the Roman period, but is characteristic of Byzantine architecture both in Asia Minor and elsewhere. Moreover, in at least one instance, in the ramp leading down from the south tower, masonry of this distinctive type can be shown to have been inserted, blocking what was originally an open arch, with stone piers and a brick archivolt (Pl. XXXII, *b*). Nevertheless, a close examination of the structure shows that such first impressions are mistaken. With the exception of certain afterthoughts and minor repairs, the whole structure was planned as a whole, and was put up on a single occasion substantially as we see it now.

On close inspection it is clear, for example, that the seemingly haphazard distinction between stone and other materials followed a carefully pre-arranged plan. Not only was this plan (see Fig. 3) followed out symmetrically in the two ramps of a single tower, but it was repeated identically from one tower to the next. This fact (which incidentally throws interesting light on the planning of enterprises of this sort) is in itself enough to suggest the uniformity of the whole, since it is hard to believe that all four ramps fell into so uniform a state of disrepair as to require an identical plan of restoration. The essential unity of the whole structure can, moreover, be demonstrated quite conclusively by an examination of the points of junction between the various types of masonry. In a number of cases the seating of a brick arch can be seen to have been carefully prepared in stone; and although this in itself might represent no more than the careful repair of an originally stone arch, there can be no doubt of the contemporaneity of the two elements in an example such as that illustrated in Plate XXXI, *a* (from the south ramp of the north tower), where the coursing of the stone has been carefully arranged so as to provide a seating for both rings of bricks, and where the extrados of the outer ring of bricks of the right-hand arch is sealed into place by the curved under-surface of the stone seating for the bricks of the left-hand arch. Much the same sort of thing can be seen in Plate XXXII, *b*, from the south ramp of the south tower. To clinch the matter, at a number of places the pointing of the mortar joints of the stone-work (clearly visible in Pl. XXXI, *a*) can be seen to be contemporary with the mortared facing of the adjoining rubblework.

The only substantial exception is that of the two blocked arches of the south ramp of the south arch (Pl. XXXII, *b*, *c*), where the fill, of mortared rubble with brick bonding-courses, is structurally secondary to the stone piers. The original intention was clearly that these should be open arches. It will be noted, however, that the masonry of the blocking is indistinguishable from that immediately above the arch, suggesting that this represents a change of plan during construction rather than the work of a distinct period; and when it is noted further that the two blocked arches are uniform with the arches of the lower order of the bridge linking the south tower to the acropolis, the obvious inference is that these two bays were originally planned as the first two bays of the bridge (which took off at just this point) rather than as part of the ramp; but that at quite an early stage in the construction it was decided instead to build them solid, perhaps for greater buttressing effect; the existing arches were filled in, and the superstructure was added in the form in which we now see it.

The substantial unity of the aqueduct as we now see it is of more than academic interest. It has already been remarked that in several respects the building-methods used anticipate Byzantine practices so closely as to have suggested that parts of it were a repair of the Byzantine period. Its establishment as a building of the Roman period is a welcome addition to the growing body of evidence showing that such practices were rooted in the traditions of Roman Asia Minor and of the adjoining provinces. This applies both to the brickwork of the upper parts of the towers and to the masonry of the ramps. Squared masonry in the same distinctive local stone, with or (more commonly) without a mortared rubble core, is characteristic of the Roman buildings of Aspendos, e.g. the theatre, the stadium, the odeum, and most strikingly the basilica, where it is combined with a coarse rubble-masonry in a manner which is even more strongly suggestive of crudely executed later repairs, but which is none the less certainly the work of a single period.[11] Brick, on the other hand, was not an indigenous building material, and it is all the more striking, therefore, to find it used in the upper parts of the pressure-towers on a scale that is surpassed in Roman Asia Minor only by the great Serapeum at Pergamon. It is, moreover, used here in just the same way as at Pergamon, that is to say not as a facing to a core of other materials, as in the Roman brick-faced concrete masonry which superficially it closely resembles, but used solid, as we find it later in the vaults of the church of St. John at Ephesus and in many another Byzantine building. No doubt such work, which was very vulnerable to the depredations of later builders in search of materials, was less exceptional than the surviving remains would suggest. But it can never have been common, and the aqueduct at Aspendos is a striking and welcome addition to the list of pre-Byzantine examples.

As a secondary building-material brick was far less uncommon and found its way into use in Asia Minor at least as early as the first half of the second century. We find it, for example, in the superstructure of the Hadrianic Library at Ephesus and, in conjunction with *opus reticulatum*, in a bath-building at Elaeusa-Sebaste in Cilicia.[12] The latter example is particularly instructive, since *opus reticulatum* is a typically Italian type of construction, of which there are less than half a dozen recorded examples from the Eastern provinces. In this case the brick bonding-courses with which it is used must also have been introduced from Italy; and once introduced, similar bonding courses gained steadily in popularity as a means of strengthening the mortared rubble-work that was the local equivalent of Roman concrete. By the second half of the third century they were in widespread use,[13] and from the buildings of the Tetrarchy they passed into early Byzantine architecture.

What is the date of the aqueduct? Although there is no direct evidence on this point, the great cisterns underlying the basilica (of which they are an integral part) and the agora may reasonably be held to imply that the aqueduct was already in existence, or was at any rate projected, when the agora was remodelled by the addition of the basilica and of the adjoining nymphaeum. Of the nymphaeum, an elaborately decorated screen-wall which served to enclose the north end of the agora, there are the considerable remains of the marble entablature of the lower order.[14] Until the chronology of this very conservative Pamphylian marble-work has been worked out in greater detail, it is not easy to assign a precise date to such work, but it must fall within the extreme limits of the middle of the second century and the end of the third. The underlying masonry, squared stone below and a mixture of squared stone and mortared rubble-work above, is very like that of the ante-room to the basilica, from which it differs most obviously in the incorporation of small panels of brick within the facing of the rubble-work. The basilica was a grandiose building over 100 m. long, with a monumental ante-room at the north end and a single apse at the south.[15] From the nature of the vaulting of its substructures (see below) it is likely to be relatively late in the pre-Constantinian period; on the other hand, there is very little likelihood of a forum–basilica on this ambitious scale being put up after the time of Constantine. It may well be that a more detailed study of the surviving remains of Aspendos, and in particular of the bath-buildings, would yield further evidence about the chronology of the whole building-programme. In the meantime such evidence as there is would seem to be best satisfied by a date in the middle or second half of the third century, although a somewhat earlier date cannot be excluded.

---

[11] Lanckoronski, *op. cit.*, pl. XVII.

[12] *Monumenta Asiae Minoris Antiqua*, iii, p. 222, figs. 177–8. My attention was first called to this building by Mr. Michael Gough.

[13] E.g. the walls of Nicaea (Iznik) in Bithynia, the palace of Diocletian at Split, the palace of Galerius at Salonica.

[14] Lanckoronski, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–102, pls. XVIII, XIX.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 96–8. As pointed out by Lietzmann (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1923–24, col. 128), the traces of roofing visible against the south wall of the ante-room belong to a later reconstruction, perhaps as a church, and not to the original building, which had galleries over the lateral aisles.

The cisterns under the basilica occupied the substructures of the greater part of the western aisle of the nave and of what was probably a portico facing westwards on to the agora. These were not, however, the only substructures. The site chosen involved crossing the head of a small re-entrant valley, and at this deeper level the massive nave-foundations were strengthened by the insertion of a series of cross-walls, which divided the eastern aisle and the central nave into five interconnecting, barrel-vaulted chambers. The two chambers under the aisle were square rooms, open to the east and conventionally vaulted in traditional materials. The three under the central nave, on the other hand, were long, narrow rooms, with stone walls and brick barrel-vaults of an unusual and striking construction. For some twenty courses on either side the bricks are laid radially, in the conventional manner of a Roman barrel-vault; [16] but the crown is of pitched bricks, i.e. of bricks laid on end at right-angles to the axis of the vault. This is a type of vaulting that was never used by the architects of the Roman West; indeed, there is only one set of comparable vaults of pre-Byzantine date known to the writer, and that is in the church of St. George at Salonica, which is now generally believed to have been built as the mausoleum of Galerius. Such vaulting is, on the other hand, characteristic of Byzantine architecture, and we find it already firmly established in the earliest surviving buildings of Constantinople, such as the Theodosian Walls and the substructures of the Great Palace. It has usually, and very possibly correctly, been regarded as having been derived from the systems of mud-brick vaulting current in the ancient East and in Egypt. What the examples at Aspendos and at Salonica prove, however, is that, whatever the remoter origins may have been, the immediate source from which it was derived by the architects of Constantinople was the architecture of the adjoining Roman provinces. In this respect the basilica and the aqueduct of Aspendos both tell the same story. Both of them remind us, too, how much fundamental work is still to be done before it will be possible to write the history of Roman architecture in this all-important region.

J. B. WARD PERKINS

---

[16] Or possibly corbelled out (the writer's visit was made in conditions of poor visibility without possibility of close inspection). Both forms were used in early Byzantine architecture, the object in both cases being the same, to make the least possible use of timber centring.

INSCRIPTIONS OF ROMAN TRIPOLITANIA: A SUPPLEMENT

(Plates XXXIII–XXXVIII)

PAGE
Introduction 124
Part I. New texts and additions to texts already published . 125
Part II. Notes on some proposed corrections to *IRT* readings . 142
Indexes 145

SINCE the publication of *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*[1] a number of additional inscribed stones have come to light in the province. Many of these have been, or are about to be, published in reports on the surveys or excavations during which they were found.[2] Those that cannot be quickly or conveniently treated in this way are assembled in the first section of this note. Twenty-four of the texts in this section are quite new;[3] the remainder are known texts that have been supplemented by the discovery of new fragments, or modified after re-reading. With them are given a small number of additional comments on published texts. In this section are included a certain number of texts or fragments that were found during the original excavation of the Forum Severianum by Professor Caputo, and rediscovered after the publication of *IRT* when the Forum was cleared of the debris left by the flood of 1946. These, together with all the known inscriptions of the Forum Severianum, will be the subject of a definitive publication by Professor Attilio Degrassi in an Anglo-Italian publication of the Severan buildings at Lepcis.

The second section contains comments on suggestions made by reviewers of *IRT* in cases which involve the reading and which it has been possible to check against the photograph or the stone itself.

Arrangement, conventions, abbreviations, and bibliography are as in *IRT*.[4]

I must express my gratitude to the Faculty of Classics in the University of Cambridge and to the British School at Rome, whose help made it possible for me to visit Tripolitania in 1953, when the greater part of this material was collected; and to the Cambridge Women's Research Club for a grant towards the cost of the Plates.

---

[1] *The Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania*, edited by J. M. Reynolds and J. B. Ward Perkins, Rome, 1951; cited hereafter as *IRT*.

[2] Published: Olwen Brogan and David Oates, *PBSR* xxi (1953) 74 ff.
David Oates, *PBSR* xxi (1953) 113 ff.
David Oates, *PBSR* xxii (1954) 113 ff.
R. G. Goodchild, *Quaderni* iii (1954) 91 ff.

Forthcoming: R. G. Goodchild—Latino–Libyan texts.
E. Vergara-Caffarelli—a group of Latin funerary inscriptions found in 1952/3 in a catacomb in the garden of the Officers' Mess at Homs, and other texts found in 1955 during excavations at Sabratha and Lepcis, to be published in *Reports and Monographs*, iii.

[3] Most of the new texts from the coastal cities were found by members of the expedition of the British School at Rome to Lepcis in 1953, and those from the interior by Mrs. Olwen Brogan, Mr. R. G. Goodchild, and Mr. David Oates. I am indebted to all of them for information; as I am also to Signor N. de Liberali and Mr. Donald Strong for photographs; to Miss C. R. Attwood, Mrs. G. U. S. Corbett, Mr. G. Clarke and Miss M. C. Tredennick for drawings; to Mrs. Brogan, Mr. Goodchild, and Mr. Strong for checking many points; to Mr. E. Birley for advice on the cohort mentioned in S. 5; and to Mr. John Morris for advice on *IRT* 522; and to Mr. Ward Perkins on S. 11.

[4] See *IRT*, introduction.

PART I. NEW TEXTS AND ADDITIONS TO TEXTS ALREADY PUBLISHED

(i. *Sabratha*)

S(upplementary series) **1.** Block of sandstone (0·97 × 0·47 × 0·41) originally stuccoed, inscribed on one face, from a monumental inscription: traces of stucco survive in the letters: the stone is badly worn at the left-hand end.[1] Findspot unrecorded; now standing against the reverse face of the *scaena* of the theatre.

Lapidary capitals, probably I cent.: 0·13–0·14.

Photo: *BSR* 53. V. 13

. . .]s Flaui[. . .
. . .]um mun[. . .[2]

---

[1] A welcome addition to the small number of early inscriptions on stuccoed sandstone from Sabratha; see *IRT* p. 25.

[2] Presumably from *municipium* or *munus*: if the former, the text would suggest that the Punic constitution of Sabratha was remodelled in the late I cent., as was that of Lepcis Magna (see *IRT* p. 80), both cities perhaps becoming *municipia*, presumably with Latin Rights.

At this point the text may have read *patron*]*um mun*[*icipi*.

(ii. *Oea*)

IRT 239. Professor E. Vergara has called my attention to an error here. The burials in the tomb at Gargaresh were inhumations, and the inscriptions therefrom given under (*c*) in *IRT* were in fact painted on the lids of the sarcophagi, not, as stated, on the covers of urns. The sarcophagus lids are now lost. For a description of them see Clermont-Ganneau, *CRAcad.* 1903, 357 ff. and for a discussion, Romanelli, *Notiz. Arch.* III (1922) 25.

(iii. *Lepcis Magna*)

S. 2. Fragment of grey marble (0·33 × 0·18 × 0·06 surviving), the lower edge sawn straight, perhaps from a base cut up and re-used: inscribed on one face. Findspot unrecorded; now stored in one of the *tabernae* of the E. Portico of the Forum Severianum.[1]

Irregular Greek capitals, roughly cut: 0·015–0·02, capitals and cursive letters mixed.

Photo: *Sopr.* DLM 2368 Leica.

. . .] ῾Ηρακλῆς[2]

---

[1] See introduction, p. 124.

[2] For Heracles at Lepcis Magna, where he was *Genius Coloniae*, see also *IRT* 286–9, all in Latin. For another Tripolitanian dedication to him in Greek, see *IRT* 848.

S. 3. Column of grey limestone (diam. 0·51 × ht. 1·73), damaged at the top.[1] Findspot unrecorded; now lying among debris immediately W. of the Severan Arch.

Capitals: l. 1, 0·086; ll. 2, 3, 0·07.

Photos: *Sopr.* DLM 2370, 2371 Leica.

Imp̣(erator) [Caesar]
Domitia[*nus*] Aug(ustus)
Germa[*ni*]*c*[*u*]*s*[2]

---

[1] The column resembles a milestone; and its present location, which is almost certainly near its findspot, is suited to a stone marking the *caput uiae* of either of two stretches of the coast road (Lepcis Magna–Oea and Lepcis Magna–Tubactis) or of the Eastern Djebel road (see also *IRT* 930). If it is a milestone, it is the only known evidence of work on the Tripolitanian road-system between the reigns of Tiberius and Caracalla (see Goodchild, *Roman Roads*, p. 7).

[2] From 84.

S. 4. Rectangular marble base (0·26 × 0·36 × 0·26) inscribed on one face within a moulded panel (0·19 × 0·28): there is a circular depression on the top. Found in 1953 by Mr. Duncan Black, on the seashore W. of the Temple of Neptune; now in Lepcis Museum.

II cent. capitals with some Rustic forms: ll. 1–5, 0·034; l. 6, 0·018.

Photo: *BSR* 53. III. 40. Pl. XXXIII, *c.*

Aurelio
Caesari
Antonini
Aug(usti) Pii f(ilio)[1]
5 Vitalis lib(?)[2]
uerna a(?) X mo(?)[3]

---

[1] Marcus Aurelius, Caesar from 139 to 161.

[2] *Lib(ertus)* or *lib(rarius)*. *Liberti* are sometimes described also as *uernae*, see e.g. *L'Ann. Ep.* 1941, 161 *uernae et liberto incomparabili*: but in view of the order of words here and of the context a term descriptive of the man's function might be preferable. For slave *librarii* see *CIL* VIII, 12165–9.

[3] Written A . X . M̊: there are identical sigla in *CIL* XIV, 4319 at Ostia (a dedication to the *numen domus Augusti* by *Victor et Hedistus uern(ae) disp(ensatores) cum Traiano Aug(usti) lib(erto) A . X̄. M̊*), except that in the Ostian text there is a bar above the X. The lettering of the Ostian text and the name Traianus suggest that it was cut in middle to late II cent., and is in fact roughly contemporary with the Lepcitanian one. (I am indebted to Prof. G. Barbieri for a photograph of the Ostian text.)

The explanation of the Ostian text given in *CIL loc. cit.*—*a(nno) (decimo) m(agistr)o* (*sc.* of a *collegium* in whose *scola* it is supposed to have been dedicated)—cannot stand now that another instance of the abbreviation has been found: nor does an earlier suggestion made by Dessau in *Eph. Ep.* IX, 437—*a(eris) (sc. stipendii) (decimi) mo(?)* seem to help. It would be reasonable to suppose that the letters refer to a branch of the imperial financial service and perhaps specifically one concerned with financial administration arising in ports. For this the precise findspots of the two texts offer some confirmation—the Ostian text was found in the Piazzale delle Corporazioni, and the Lepcitanian text on the seashore near *IRT* 302, which mentions a *seruus* in the office of the *IIII p. A.* at Lepcis and suggests the proximity of that office. But I am unable to offer any satisfactory expansion of the letters. M̊ is a standard abbreviation for *modius*.

S. 5. Fragment, probably from the lower part, of a marble base (0·38 × 0·27 × 0·19) inscribed on one face (surviving surface, 0·29 × 0·25). Findspot unrecorded; now in one of the *tabernae* of the E. Portico of the Forum Severianum.[1]

Rustic capitals, closely resembling those of *IRT* 525: l. 1, not measurable; ll. 2, 3, 0·048; l. 4, 0·045.

Photo: *Sopr.* DLM 2365 Leica.

. . . Imp(erator-) C]ạẹs(ar-) Ṃ[arc . . .
. . . A]ug(ust-)[2] et Caecilia[. . .
. . . trib(un-) mil(itum)] *coh(ortis)* II *mil(iariae)* *Ṃon*(?)[3] [. . .
. . .]atiae fec[. . .[4]

---

[1] See introduction, p. 124.

[2] AVGG. The lettering is of the late II or early III cent.; the emperors might therefore be M. Aurelius and Verus, M. Aurelius and Commodus, Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Caracalla and Geta; but if Commodus or Geta were involved the second G of AVGG would probably have been erased. On grounds of lettering, Septimius Severus and Caracalla seem the most likely pair.

[3] Otherwise unknown. Presumably Mon(tanorum).

[4] It seems possible that the inscription records the erection of a monument (see *fec[?erunt]* in l. 4) by two men, each of whom had followed careers in the imperial services. The first, whose name is entirely lost, would appear to have reached a rank such as *procurator Augustorum*. The second, perhaps named Caecilia[nus], had passed through the *militia equestris* and possibly proceeded to an office, presumably as procurator, in a province whose name ends *-atia* (e.g. Galatia or Dalmatia).

S. 6. Fragment from the left-hand side of a base of grey marble (0·24 × 0·43 × 0·135) inscribed on one face within a moulded panel (0·153 × 0·285) from which a previous inscription has been erased.[1] Findspot unrecorded; now in one of the *tabernae* of the E. Portico of the Forum Severianum.[2]

IV cent. capitals: l. 1, 0·055; ll. 2, 3, 0·05.

Photo: *Sopr.* DLM 2366 Leica.

. . .]
[. .]Ṿ[. . .
u(iro) p(erfectissimo) age[nti uices]
praef(ectorum)[3] [praetorio]
ob in[. . .[4]
5 [. .]p̣ạ[. . .[5]

---

[1] Material and lettering closely resemble those of *IRT* 651, but there appear to be slight differences in the moulding of the two fragments.

[2] See introduction, p. 124.

[3] PRAEFF; the upper part only of the sixth letter survives, but *praefe[ctorum* . . . is improbable in view of the likely line-length calculated from l. 2. Since this *uicarius* is *u.p.* not *u.c.* the date must be early in the IV cent., see *IRT* introduction, p. 8.

[4] *Innocentiam* or *integritatem* would fit the space available; but a phrase such as *ob insignia meritorum* . . ., running on to the next line, is also possible.

[5] For P it would be possible to read B or R; for A, N or V.

S. 7. Three fragments of coarse-grained brown limestone, all probably from the same panel or base, inscribed within a moulded *tabella ansata*. Findspot unrecorded; now in one of the *tabernae* of the E. Portico of the Forum Severianum.[1]

Rustic capitals, probably III cent.: 0·065–0·07.

Photo: *Sopr.* DLM 2369 Leica.

(*a*) 0·23 × 0·17 × 0·09; inscribed surface, 0·23 × 0·17. Moulding survives at the left-hand end, and apparently includes the angle of the lower juncture of the *ansa* with the panel.

sp̣ạ[. . .
Lẹp̣c̣[?itan . . . *or* Lẹp̣c̣[imagnens . . .

(*b*) 0·27 × 0·20 × 0·055; inscribed surface, 0·27 × 0·12. No edges.

. . .]ṾẠ[. . .
. . .]ọri patriae mị[. . .[2]

(*c*) 0·18 × 0·18 × 0·055; inscribed surface, 0·18 × 0·18. Moulding survives below the lettering, at an acute angle to it: the fragment appears to be from the lower part of the right-hand *ansa*, into which the lettering has encroached.

. . .] singulari[. . .

---

[1] See introduction, p. 124.

[2] Perhaps *amat]ori patriae*, see also *IRT* 95, 275, 347, 567, 603, and *Neo-Punic* 32 (= *IRT* 318).

S. 8. Double stele (0·45 × 1·87 × 0·45) of coarse brown limestone, culminating in two triangular points, inscribed on one face within two adjacent moulded panels (each 0·16 × 0·38), one line of the left-hand text being cut below its panel. On the right side of the stele is a lightly incised rectangle with the upper short end rounded, and above it, slightly to the left, a crude disc in relief; above this, and appearing to stand on the top of the stele, an 8-spoked wheel in high relief. On the left side, opposite the wheel, is a funerary urn in high relief. Found in 1953 by Mr. John Cassels, within the circuit of the I cent. wall, near the presumed site of the E. gate, at a depth of *c.* 5 ft.; now in Lepcis Museum.

Irregular late capitals: (*a*) l. 1, 0·04; l. 2, 0·047; l. 3, 0·049; l. 4, 0·05; ll. 5–7, 0·04; l. 8, 0·055. (*b*) l. 1, 0·035; ll. 2–5, 0·04; l. 6, 0·036; l. 7, 0·04.

Photos: *BSR* (not yet catalogued). Pl. XXXVI, *a*.

(*a*) D(is) s(acrum) m(anibus)[1]
Claudius
Ṣṭiddin[2] m
onimentu *sic*
m fecit
se uiuo po
sterius *sic*
suis

(*b*) D(is) s(acrum) m(anibus)[1]
Claudius
Ḷadas[2] mon
imentum *sic*
fecit se ui
uo poster
isque suis

---

[1] A rare order for the words of this formula; see also, however, *CIL* VIII, 3828.

[2] Both cognomina appear to be of Libyan origin. For Stiddin see also *IRT* 219, 236, 875 and, probably, 892, and S. 16, below; Ladas is not otherwise known. The initial letters of the name read as Stiddin are cut as S̵. This letter-form has been found in a number of Latino–Libyan inscriptions in Tripolitania and has sometimes been read as F, more recently as Z (see R. G. Goodchild, 'The Latino–Libyan Inscriptions of Tripolitania,' *The Antiquaries Journal*, xxx (1950) 137). Here S̵ is clearly distinguished from F; and since there can be little doubt that the name intended is Stiddin (as also in *IRT* 892, where the initial letters are also written as S̵) it would seem reasonable to suppose that the form regularly represents ST in ligature.

S. 9. Fluted cinerary urn of soft white limestone standing on a foliate foot (max. diam. *c.* 0·30 × ht. *c.* 0·40), inscribed on four of the flutings. Findspot unrecorded; now in the Museo Archeologico, Venice (inv. no. 366).[1]

Rustic capitals, 0·025. A is written without a crossbar.

Photos: *Archivio fotografico, Museo Archeologico, Venezia,* negative 1/10, 5/10, 6/10, 9/10, dated 1.6.54.

C . L . M . A[2]

---

[1] I am indebted to the Dottoressa Giulia Fogolari, who obtained the photographs for me. On the museum-label the urn is dated in the I cent. The style of lettering suggests, in a Lepcitanian context, the second half of the II cent. or the very early III cent.

[2] Presumably these letters are the initials of the dead man, which appear to indicate that he was a Roman citizen C(aius) L(?) M(?) A(?). This provides another argument in favour of a date later than the I cent. for the burial, since the urn is that of a man of modest means and station—not such as would be likely to have obtained Roman citizenship before this was extended to the generality of Lepcitanians by Trajan (see *IRT* p. 81).

S. 10. Chest-shaped tomb consisting of two blocks of sandstone (together, 1·83 × 0·50 × 0·48) inscribed on the right-hand stone. *In situ* in the cemetery adjoining Church III at the head of the Colonnaded Street.[1]

Irregular Greek letters, formed by a series of punched holes: l. 1, 0·016–0·075; ll. 2, 3, 0·01–0·08. Capitals and cursive letters mixed.

Photo: *BSR* 53. XV. 31.

Μαρία Θεό
δω
ρος

---

[1] For a description of this church, which seems to have been built in the mid-VI cent., see J. B. Ward Perkins and R. G. Goodchild, 'The Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania', *Archaeologia*, xcv (1953) 29 ff. The type of tomb concerned here is in the second and later group distinguished by these authors.

S. 11. Chest-shaped tomb consisting of three blocks of stuccoed sandstone (together, 1·96 × 0·48 × ?), lightly inscribed on the stuccoed upper surface, which is now much damaged.[1] Probably from the cemetery adjoining Church III at the head of the Colonnaded Street;[2] now standing on the top of a wall between the cemetery and the street which divides Reg. IV from Reg. II. When the blocks were moved to their present position the third was evidently reversed; as it stands at present it does not fit neatly on to the second, but with its position reversed it would do so (see photograph in Pl. XXXV *a*).

Irregular Greek lettering, capitals mixed with cursive forms: 0·115–0·205.

Photo: *Sopr.* C 740. Pl. XXXV, *a*.

⳨ ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς ᾽Ισ̣[ι]δο̣ρ[ου] *sic*

---

[1] The photograph was taken when the surface was in a much better condition than it is now. The text is read from the photograph.

[2] For this church see S. 10, n. 1 above.

S. 12. Tomb formed of a block of sandstone tapering slightly from head to foot (max. 0·47 × 1·13), originally stuccoed and inscribed on the stuccoed surface, which is now almost entirely lost: the inscription survives only where the letters were cut through the stucco and into the stone below. *In situ* in the cemetery between Church III and the S. wall of the Forum Severianum.[1]

Rough capitals: 0·45–0·106.

Photo: *BSR* 53. X. 5.

Cross
K̅E̅ BO[2]
[. . 1 *or* 2 . .]EO[. . 1 *or* 2 . .]
[*space for* c. 4 *lines*]
Cross

---

[1] For this church see S. 10, n. 1 above.

[2] Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ήθει); see also *IRT* 829, from Church III.

IRT 304, ll. 6, 7. For the proconsul Marcellus mentioned here see also *L'Ann. Ep.* 1921, 38 = Poinssot, *CRAcad.* 1920, 140 ff. Poinssot dates tentatively in the early years of the reign of M. Aurelius. The lettering of the Lepcis inscription would accord with this.

IRT 367. Fragment from the left-hand side of a marble base (0·18 × 0·265 × 0·28) inscribed within a moulded panel (0·13 × 0·225). Found in the Forum Severianum (*Rel. Scav.* 29.10.26), now in one of the *tabernae* of the E. Portico of the Forum Severianum.[1]

Slender capitals, of a form unusual at Lepcis: l. 1, 0·07; l. 2, 0·04.

Photo: *Sopr.* DLM 2367 Leica.

L(ucio) Aelio C[aesari]
Aug(usti) f(ilio) [. . .[2]

---

[1] See introduction, p. 124. The text given in *IRT* was read from a drawing and is wrong.

[2] L. Ceionius Commodus, Cæsar from 136 to 138.

IRT 447. The letters ...]VEN in this context are likely to be part of the title *princeps iuventutis*. The subject of the inscription, whose name has been erased, was probably Geta.

IRT 489. A second block of grey limestone (0·95 × 0·50 × depth not measurable), with traces of moulding above, inscribed on one face; it adjoined the published block of this inscription at the right-hand end.[1] Built into the Byzantine sea-wall, near the Temple of Rome and Augustus, and recently re-exposed.

Lapidary capitals: from top of block, 0·33–0·49; to bottom, 0·50.

Photo: *BSR* 53. XVI. 18.

The two blocks taken together read:

. . . tri]b(unicia) pot(estate) II imp(erator-) [. . .[2]

---

[1] The block described here was seen and associated with that published in *IRT* by Romanelli (*Leptis Magna*, 132), but his reference was wrongly interpreted in the footnote to *IRT* 489.

[2] There is a long space after IMP. Since the spacing of the other words is uneven, an interval here, with a figure cut upon the next stone, is not impossible; or space may have been left for a figure to be added when the cutter had ascertained the correct number of imperial salutations (see *IRT* 914). If no figure was intended because the emperor concerned had only received the initial salutation, the subject might be Gaius (March 38–March 39), Trajan (Dec. 97–Dec. 98), Hadrian (Dec. 117–Dec. 118) or Antoninus Pius (Feb. 139–Feb. 140)—lettering and material make a later date improbable: the balance is in favour of a I cent. emperor, since, in the II cent., lists of imperial titles do not normally include imperial salutations until the second has been received.

IRT 522. Two additional fragments (together, 0·14 × 0·40 × 0·195) from the right-hand end of this base, containing also on their second face parts of *IRT* 610 (see below), have been rediscovered and placed beside the base.[1]

IV cent. capitals: 0·03.

Photo: *BSR* (negative, D. Strong; not yet numbered).

With the new fragments the text reads:

[. . ? . . .][2]
[Cl]audio A[. . *c.* 12 . .]
[. .] proconsulị p̣[rouinci]ae
[Afr]icae[3] omnium uirtutum
uiro innocentis integri
tatis uicoratae lenitatis *sic*
sublimis moderation[i]s
laudauilis iustitiae *sic*
Lepcimagnenses ex de
creto ordinis patrono
perpetuo

---

[1] See introduction, p. 124.

[2] One line is probably missing above the die.

[3] Not otherwise known. The date should be before the creation of *prouincia Tripolitana*, i.e. before *c.* 312 at the latest, when the proconsul of Africa ceased to be responsible for this region. But letter-style, tone, and relation to *IRT* 610 (see below) suggest rather a IV cent. date. It is possible that l. 2 should be restored [*ex*] *proconsulẹ* (as in *IRT* 526, ll. 2, 3); the position in which Claudius A[. . . earned the gratitude of Lepcis for his qualities as an administrator might then have been analogous to that of Decimius Hesperius (see *IRT* 526 and *PW* VIII, 1249, 1).

IRT 570. On further examination of the photographs of this base more of the inscription has been read. The text is very lightly cut on a rough surface from which a previous inscription has been incompletely erased. Decipherment is therefore extremely difficult.

[.]allomẹṭis
Praedicabilis in
tegritatis et beniuoli
uigoris iustitiae singu

5 laris Flauio Victorịạṇọ[1]
comịtị [. .]C̣EṢỊ Africạẹ[2]
quod defesso territoṛịọ
nimia incụṛṣạtione ba[r]
barorum sequens [. . 6 *or* 7 . .]
10 excubiaẹ [.]ḍ[.]quẹ [. . 3 *or* 4 . .]ẹṇte mọ
deratione iudicioruṃ ọḅẹ[. . 2 *or* 3 . .]
tam reipublicạ[e . . *c.* 7 *or* 8 . .]
quam priuatorum resṭịṭ[uit]
etiam [. . *c.* 12 . .] Lepcim
15 [agnenses . . *c.* 16 . .]

---

[1] Flauius Victorianus was *comes Africae* between 375 and 378, see *CIL* VIII, 10937. The activities for which he is honoured in this inscription are clearly part of the aftermath of the Austurian invasion of Tripolitania *c.* 363–5, see Amm. Marc. XXVIII 6 and especially *IRT* 475, 526, 571, of approximately the same date as this text.

[2] It would be possible to read *com(iti) et* or *comit(i)* at the beginning of the line. The word which follows is difficult to read—*dioecesis* would give sense, but the first four letters would have to be very cramped to fit into the space available.

IRT 610. Three additional fragments from this text have been rediscovered and placed with the base: (*a*) from the left-hand corner, on the second face of the new fragments of *IRT* 522, see above; (*b*) from the right-hand edge (0·165 × 0·325 × 0·135).[1]

III–IV cent. lettering: 0·04–0·05.

Photo: *BSR* (negative D. Strong: not yet numbered).

With the new fragments the text reads:

. . .]PỌR
Ae[. . *c.* 14 . .] u(iro) p(erfectissimo)
prạẹ[sidi prouinc(iae) Tr]ịp(olitanae)[2]
omnium uirtut[um ui]ro
5 innocentis inte[g]rita
tis uigoratae laenitatis *sic*
sublimis moderat[i]onis
iustitiae laudab[i]lis to
tius aequitatis L[e]pci
10 magnenses ex decreto
spl(endidissimi) ordinis patrono benign(o)

---

[1] See introduction, p. 124.

[2] The new fragments show that the text relates to a *praeses prouinciae Tripolitanae* (unidentified) and is therefore of the IV cent. This text is closely related to *IRT* 522 (see above), which is cut on the left-hand side of the same base; and from the markedly superior quality of its lettering, should be the earlier of the two.

IRT 624. Block of grey limestone (0·70 × 0·51 × 0·51) inscribed on one face: there is a shallow cut-away on the right side at the back. Found half-buried in sand between the Temple of Rome and Augustus and the Byzantine sea-wall, in which it had probably been re-used. It adjoins the published stone of this text at the left-hand end.

Lapidary capitals: from top of block, l. 1, 0·02–0·11; l. 2, 0·135–0·225; l. 3, 0·25–0·34; l. 4, 0·365–0·455; to bottom, 0·51.

Photo: *Sopr.* DLM 2378 Leica. Pl. XXXIII, *a*, *b*.
The two stones, taken together, read:

. . .]o Fronṭ[o]ni
. . . p]ontifici c̣[ol]oniae[1]
. . .]nus lato c̣[la]uo donauit[2]
. . .] diui Traia[n]i Parthici

---

[1] Presumably Lepcis. Fronto has not been identified; but appears to be the earliest known Senator of Lepcitanian origin.

[2] Perhaps *hunc diuus Traianus lato clauo donauit*. If the donor had been Domitian, it is unlikely that his name would have been given; if Vespasian, we should have to suppose a very considerable gap in Fronto's early career, since the space vacant before *diui Traiani Parthici* in l. 4 cannot be long enough to hold the record of much activity.

IRT 707. The inscribed stones of this text were re-examined when the façade of the building to which it probably belonged was measured by Mr. Gareth Slater in summer 1953.

The total length of the façade is 20·15 m.; the inscription was cut on the frieze and probably occupied a space of *c.* 18·74; the total length of the surviving inscribed stones is 12·40; letter-sizes and spacing are variable, but on average there are 7 letters per metre, so that some 45 letters can reasonably be supplied in a reconstruction of the text; words are distinguished by ivy-leaf stops; the relation of the stones to one another is conditioned by the position of the beam-holes cut at the back of each at intervals of approx. 0·344.

Lapidary capitals: 0·16.

Photos: *Sopr.* DLM 253–258 Lastre. For a drawing see fig. 1, p. 134.

(*a*) the 7 blocks associated in *IRT* should be divided into two separate groups:

(i) 5 blocks, together 4·02

. . .]a et amplius adiectis HS $\overline{\text{LXXII}}$ Θ [. . .

(ii) 2 blocks, together 1·42

. . .] de suo are[. . .

(*b*) this block, as published in *IRT*, in fact adjoins the block published there as block (*g*): together 1·50.

. . .]alis legatis iu[. . .

(*c*) 1 block, 0·50

. . .]men[. . .

(*d*) 1 block, 0·70

. . .] heres [. . .

(*e*) 1 block, 0·79

. . .]arata[. . .

(*f*) 1 block, 0·80; probably from the right-hand end of the text.

. . .] fecit

(*g*) see (*b*) above

(*b*) 1 block, 0·80

. . .]ollini e[. . .

(*i*) 2 blocks, together 1·05

. . .]a Gaetul[. . .

(*j*) 1 block, 0·82

. . . H]S $\overline{\text{CC}}$ te[. . .

It is possible to attempt a reconstruction on the following lines:

[? Deo Ap]ollini e[x H]S $\overline{\text{CC}}$ te[sta]$\overline{\text{men}}$[to . . ? . .]alis[1] legatis Iu[?ni]a Gaetul[ici ? f(ilia) ? P]arata heres[2] [. . ? . .]a[3] et amplius adiectis HS $\overline{\text{LXXII}}$ Ð [. . ? . .] de suo[4] are[am ? stratam] fecit.

---

[1] The name of the testator, e.g. Vitalis.

[2] Another block containing, e.g., the words *uxor* (*coniunx*) *et* might intervene before *heres*.

[3] Presumably the description of the building. The site has not been excavated and its precise character is obscure: walls enclosing an open courtyard (cf. the *area ? strata* of the text) are the only certain features. A term with the sense of *peristylia* might be suggested, although this is in fact too long for the space available.

[4] An ivy leaf after Ð indicates that the figure is complete; but the beam-holes seem to show that the block containing *de suo* did not follow immediately.

IRT 815. The three fragments of a marble architrave probably from the Severan Temple in the Forum Severianum have been re-examined. The two fragments published separately as (*a*) and (*b*) in *IRT* should be taken together: the stones do not make an exact juncture, but the graining of the marble shows that they did in fact adjoin.

Lapidary capitals: 0·16.

Photos: *BSR* 53. III. 15 and 16:

(*a*) and (*b*) together, 1·70 × 0·60

. . .]io a parenti[bus . . .[1]

(*c*) 0·40 × 0·08

. . .]onco[. . .[2]

---

[1] Presumably a reference to work undertaken at the expense of Severus and Julia Domna but finished by Caracalla, see also *IRT* 427, 428 from the Severan basilica. A reconstruction might be sought on the lines of *templum et substructio a parentibus coepta*.

[2] Perhaps . . . *c*]*onco*[*rdia* . . .

(iv. *The Coastal Belt*)

S. 13. Fragment, probably from the top of a marble panel (0·155 × 0·09 surviving × 0·018). Found in 1949 at Oliveti (map ref. L 1359); now in Tripoli Castle.

Rustic capitals: l. 1, 0·055; l. 2, not measurable.

Photo: *Sopr.*

. . . uetusta]te dilapsum [. . .
. . .]ṛum p̣ṛọ[. . .[1]

---

[1] The upper part only of the letters survives: the dotted letters could in each case be B, P, or R.

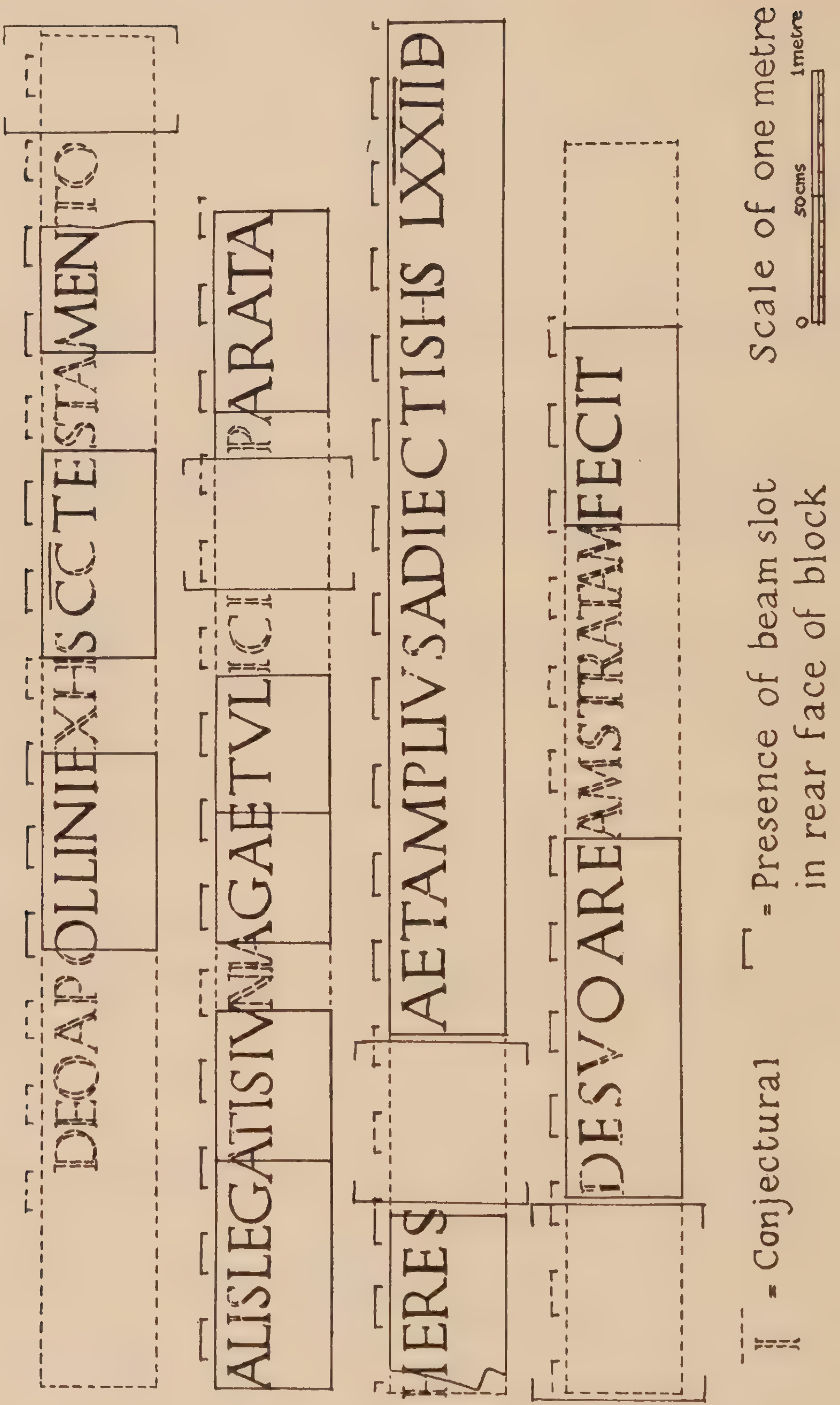

DEOAPOLLINIEXHS CCC TESTAMENTO
ALISLEGATISIMAGAETVLICI PARATA
HERES AETAMPLIVSADIECTISHS LXXIID
DESVOAREAMSTRATAMFECIT
= Conjectural
= Presence of beam slot in rear face of block
Scale of one metre
0
50cms
1metre

FIG. 1.—*IRT* 707.

(vii. *The Western Gebel*)

S. 14. Block of limestone (0·93 × 0·50 × 0·31) inscribed on one face, which is badly weathered. Found at El-Auenia (map ref. U 785, 720); now in Tripoli Castle.[1]

Photo: Goodchild.

Capitals (probably III cent.): l. 1, 0·055; l. 2, 0·035; ll. 3–6, 0·045; l. 7, 0·03.

[In]comparabilis uirtutis et
innocẹ[nt]ia[e] uiro
Ḷ(ucio) Clodio Clodiano[2] uet(erano) ex dec(urione)[3]
qui u(ixit) a(nnis) ẊL̇V̇IIII mensib(us) VIII
5 Valeria Processa uxor et
[?Clodius] Victor Clodianus[2] Processus
[. . *c.* 4 . .]ụ[.][4] ẹmeritus patri piissimo[5]

---

[1] This inscription is to be published more fully by Professor E. Vergara in *Reports and Monographs*, III.

[2] DI ligatured. [3] DE ligatured. [4] Perhaps [fili]ụ[s].

[5] If the inscription is, as the letter-forms suggest, of the III cent., the presence of this family of soldiers in the interior of Tripolitania might be interpreted as the result of veteran settlements of the type presumed at this time by R. G. Goodchild and J. B. Ward Perkins, 'The *Limes Tripolitanus* in the Light of Recent Discoveries,' *JRS*, xxxix (1949) 93.

S. 15. Fragment of a re-used marble panel (maximum 0·253 × 0·335) very roughly rounded at the top to form a funerary stele; the right-hand lower corner has been broken off and rejoined to the rest in the museum, the upper edges are chipped away; inscribed on one face in red paint, badly faded. The great part of the inscribed face is occupied by an elaborate but crudely painted Latin cross (α, ω) with forked terminals, each fork ending in a small circle; on the lower vertical arm the forks are continued beyond the circles and end in spirals; there may have been similar ornament on the upper vertical arm, but if so it has been broken or worn away; at the centre of the cross is an open circle containing a small plain cross; between each pair of arms are two painted lines radiating from the centre, forming apparently a χ; along the bottom edge of the panel is a spiral design.[1] The inscription is written above, below, and on either side of the cross. Said to have been found at El-Asàbaa (map ref. Q 143782);[2] now in Tripoli Castle.

Rough Greek lettering, capitals and cursive forms mixed; ave. 0·01. In some cases ου is written ȣ.

Photo: *Sopr.* 403. Pls. XXXVII, XXXVIII.

(*a*) Above the cross, between the forks of the terminal of the upper vertical arm:

Ị(ἡσοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς
[. . *c.* 4 . .]

(*b*) To the left of the cross. Ll. 1–7 are in the angle between the two upper arms; ll. 8–10 between the forks of the terminal of the left horizontal arm; ll. 11 ff. in the angle between the two lower arms; it is possible that there were one or two lines above that shown as l. 1.

[. . *c.* 4 . .]α̣ς̣
[. . *c.* 4 . . Κ(ύρι)ε]
[βοή]θ̣η[3] τ
οῦ δού
5 λου σου
[. . *c.* 5 . .]ο̣υ̣
[. . *c.* 3 . .]Π̣λ̣ου
[τή]ν̣ου
[? . .]ν[. . 1 *or* 2 . .]
10 [?. .]κ̣[. . 1 *or* 2 . .]
[. . c. 8 *lines, in which only odd letters are legible, and those uncertainly* . .]

(*c*) To the right of the cross. Arrangement of lines in relation to the cross is as in (*b*) above.

[. . *c.* 6 . .]
[. . *c.* 6 . .]
Κ(ύρι)ε β̣ο̣
ήθη[3] τ
οῦ δούλου
σου Πλουτή
νου πη[. . 1 *or* 2 . .]
τηκ[? .]
ου[4] σὺν
τοῦ [. . ? 1 *or* 2 . .]
αυτ
ου[. . ? . .]λ̣ω[5]
[. . ? . .]γη[. . 1 *or* 2 . .]
π[. . .

(*d*) Below the cross, between the forks of the terminal of the lower vertical arm:

ΤΟΥṆω
ΗΧ[. .]Ḥ Ṇ[? .]

---

[1] The type of cross with forked terminals ending in a small circle is certainly not earlier than the VI cent.

[2] See also *IRT* 861, and for a description of the church on this site, J. B. Ward Perkins and R. G. Goodchild, 'The Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania', *Archaeologia*, xcv (1953) 35 ff. and 58. The church seems to have been built before the Byzantine reconquest of Africa; but a baptistery of Byzantine type was added later. The inscription, which is certainly later than the Byzantine reconquest, affords valuable evidence of contact between the coast and the interior in this period. It is the only Greek inscription so far found in the interior of Tripolitania.

[3] The formula Κύριε βοήθει is found also at Lepcis, see *IRT* 829 and S. 12 above.

[4] Perhaps another name.

[5] At this point the arrangement of letters in straight lines fails; in the present state of preservation of the letters it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide which are to be taken together.

IRT 859. The name Chinitius here is presumably an ethnic. For the tribe Cinithii or Chinithii see Tac. *Ann.* II. 52, Pliny *N.H.* V. 4. 30, Ptol. IV. 3. 22, *CIL* VIII, 10500, and *Nouvelles Archives* XV, p. 311, from Gigthis. Their affinities are apparently with the territory to the W., and the appearance of this name in the Gebel Nefusa suggests a closer connexion between that area and the W. than had been supposed.

(viii. *The Eastern Gebel*)

S. 16. Block of limestone (0·86 × 0·45 × *c.* 0·40) broken and perhaps burnt on the left-hand of the face; inscribed on one face within an incised *tabella ansata* (originally *c.* 0·50 × 0·36); the surviving *ansa* is defined by two incised lines and encloses a cross with forked terminals; above it, at an angle, is a roughly incised palm branch; the centre of the panel is occupied by a large monogram cross (α, ω) with closed P and forked terminals; the surviving part of the inscription is cut (*a*) within the panel, above and below the right arm of the cross, and (*b*) outside the panel, in the triangle made by the right edge of the panel, the upper edge of the *ansa* and the palm branch. Found by Mr. David Oates in the garden of Podere 137, Breviglieri Village (El-Khadra); said locally to have been brought there, in the course of quarrying operations, from one of two sites on the ridge N. of the Podere (map refs. M 089, 217 and M 084, 215);[1] now in Tripoli Castle.

Rough incised capitals: l. 1, 0·025–0·04; l. 2, 0·045; l. 3, 0·03; l. 4, 0·035; l. 5, *c.* 0·03.

Photo: *BSR* (not yet catalogued). Pl. XXXV, *b*.

(*a*) *Within the panel*

. . .] Deo[2]
. . .] THANI
. . .]ṆỊNETION
. . .] Stiddin[3]
5 . . .]ECOLO[. . *2 or 3* . .][4]

(*b*) *Outside*

Ṭ A Ị
SE[.]A

---

[1] Of the two sites, one is a roughly rectangular ditched *gasr* with the foundation of a gate-tower projecting from its S.W. side: the surviving masonry consists of large blocks carefully cut and laid, but may have been a foundation of re-used material carrying rubble masonry: it is surrounded on all sides by rubble huts forming a small village of the type found at Gasr Hamed (see David Oates, 'Ancient Settlement in the Tripolitanian Gebel, II', *PBSR*, xxii (1954) 96). The other site, 200 m. from the first, survives only as a mound, *c.* 18 × 14, surrounded by a ditch 25 m. wide, which probably represents the remains of a rubble *gasr*. Olive-press uprights and a stub of concrete walling beyond the S.W. lip of the ditch suggest that there was an earlier olive farm here. Both *gsur* would, on Oates' dating of these structures, at the earliest belong to the end of the IV cent. For the spread of Christianity into the interior of Tripolitania in the late IV and V cents., and for the incidence and significance of the use of the monogram cross, see J. B. Ward Perkins and R. G. Goodchild, 'The Christian Antiquities of Tripolitania', *Archaeologia*, xcv (1953) 72 ff.

[2] Perhaps [Laus] Deo.

[3] A Libyan name, see also S. 8 n. 2 above.

[4] Possibly . . . sa]ecolo[rum].

S. 17. Block of limestone (1·10 × 0·55 × 0·60) inscribed on one face within a moulded *tabella ansata* (0·59 × 0·37). Found by Mr. David Oates lying to the S. of a ruined *gasr*, 16 km. S.E. of Cussabat and 4 km. N.E. of Gasr Umm er-Raml (map ref. M 409, 224).[1]

Graceful capitals with Rustic forms, probably III cent.: ll. 1–4, 0·07–0·08; l. 5, 0·03.

Photo: *BSR* (not yet catalogued). Pl. XXXIII, *d*.

D(is) m(anibus) Q(uinti) Porci Iouini
uixit annis X[. . *c.* 5 . .]
Q(uintus) Porcius Reginus pa
ter pị(i)ssimus filio
5 quieto[2] fecit

---

[1] The *gasr* is constructed for the most part of undressed stones and is clearly later in date than the inscription. It is probable that a mausoleum was demolished and robbed to provide material for the *gasr*, and this mausoleum might be associated with the olive farms of which a number of traces survive in the area.

[2] For the formula *filio quieto* see also *IRT* 692 at Lepcis.

S. 18. Block of limestone veined with quartz, broken at the top (0·58 × max. surviving ht. 0·38 × 0·58), inscribed on one face within a sunk *tabella ansata*. Found by Mr. David Oates on a barren ridge approx. 1 km. S.W. of Scetib es-Sedd and 25 km. S. of Cussabat (map ref. M300, 065);[1] now in Tripoli Castle.

Rough capitals, with some Rustic forms: l. 1, 0·035; l. 2, 0·04; l. 3, 0·035; ll. 4, 5, 0·03; l. 6, 0·035–0·04.

Photo: *BSR* (not yet catalogued). Pl. XXXIV, *b*.

Diis mani[bus sac(rum)]
Balyn(a)e[2] uixsit an(n)
orum XXXVIII C(aius) Cae
cilius Lupus uxori
5 suae obsequentis(s)i
m(a)e feccit structoriq(u)e[3] *sic*

---

[1] The stone is said by Dr. C. Chiesa to come either from the Garian massif or from the area of Beni Ulid in the Orfella. Its findspot was probably not its original position—there were a few large stones near-by, but no sign of other dressed blocks.

[2] For this name cf. Baline at Cirta, *CIL* VIII, 7827.

[3] TR ligatured. *Structori* presumably refers to the builder, C. Caecilius Lupus.

S. 19. Limestone block (1·05 × 0·68 × 0·28; a bevel on the upper edge reduces the height to 0·40 at the back) damaged at the top; originally part of a simple cornice, re-used and inscribed on one face; the inscribed face is badly worn and pitted with deep holes. Found by Mr. David Oates in the ruins of a ditched *gasr* on a hill-top just W. of the Wadi Gsea, about 6 km. N. of Marconi Village (El Kseia, map ref. M 153, 284);[1] now in Tripoli Castle.

Irregular incised capitals: l. 1, 0·065; ll. 2, 3, 0·065–0·08; ll. 4, 5, 0·05–0·07; l. 6, 0·05.

Oates: *PBSR*, xxii (1954) 106 and 114.

Photo: *Sopr.* DLM 526. Pl. XXXIV, *a*.

[. . 3 *or* 4 . .]ịu militaḅo in[. . *c*. 7 . .][2]
laboro obsequius per
quae[3] ista omnia per
f̣ẹcta sunt a me sịc̣ FṾ
5 ẠṚẸ[4] felix Urbanus Dona
tina[q(ue)?] ẹius q[ui] paṭrem exup̣eraṇ[t][5]

---

[1] The *gasr* is likely to be, at earliest, of the late IV cent. Since a stone inscribed with a *chi-rho* monogram was found on the site, the inhabitants may well have been Christian. See also note 2 below.

[2] At the beginning of the line Oates read *humilitas*, which is epigraphically possible, but the traces of letters also seem compatible with [. . .]*diu*; at the end, the letter after *in* could be C—which suggests perhaps *militabo in Christo*. For the conjunction of *militia* and *labor* in a Christian context cf. Diehl 892, with note on l. 4 and quotation from Vulg. II Tim. 2. 3: *labora sicut bonus miles Christi*.

[3] AE ligatured.

[4] The reading at the end of l. 4 and the beginning of l. 5 is obscure, since the stone is both worn and pitted here. It would be just possible to read E for A and IT for E, making *fuerit*, but this is very uncertain.

[5] For EIVS it would be easier to read CIVS, presumably the end of a name, *Donatina*[.]*cius*, for which, however, I have not found a parallel.

In *patrem*, TR are apparently in ligature, but the T cannot be regarded as certain.

At the end of the line there is barely room for *exuperan*[*t*] and the traces of the N are very uncertain: *exupera*[*t*] is quite possible.

(x. *The Middle and Lower Sofeggin Basin*)

S. 20. Moulded pedestal of limestone (0·77 × 0·47 × surviving depth 0·63) intended to carry a column; inscribed on one face within a moulded *tabella ansata* in relief (0·39 × 0·23), the surface badly weathered. Found by Mr. R. G. Goodchild in the necropolis near Gasr D at Bir Scedeua (map ref. Tripolitania, 1/500,000, Sheet 8, Mizda, 9060).[1]

Rough capitals: 0·025–0·03.

Photo: Goodchild, unnumbered.

MYNS̶YSTHS̶YTHM[. . .][2]
VCHANRYTHIYḶVḶỌ[. . .]
HVḶẸṂṆIẠ[. . *c*. 3 . .]CHIẠTHM
ỊMỊO[. .]Ṃ[.]Ạ[. . *c*. 5 . .]
5 VṆ[. . *c*. 3 . .]MẠSIRANVỴ[. .][3]
MṾMROL[4]

---

[1] For a brief reference to this site see R. G. Goodchild, 'The Limes Tripolitanus II', *JRS* xl (1950) 33.

[2] S̶ = ST as in S. 8 above. For the probable meaning of *Mynstysth* = monument see *IRT* 906, n. 1, below.

[3] The following seem to be names:

M[. . .]VCHAN (cf. Masauchan in *IRT* 906 below).
IYḶVḶ (see also in S. 24 below).
MẠSIRANVỴ (for the suffix -*uy*, see S. 24, n. 3 below).

[4] The letters in this line appear to be much more widely spaced than in the remainder of the inscription.

S. 21. Limestone block from the sculptured relief of Mausoleum C in the group nearest the habitations at Ghirza (see also *IRT* 898, 902, from the same mausoleum): the relief shows men at work in the fields, ploughing with camels and oxen: above the relief, on an outward-curving flange, is an inscription, damaged at the right-hand end. Found fallen from its position, and now in Tripoli Castle.

Very irregular incised capitals: 0·02–0·07.

Photo: *Sopr.* DTV 712.

MAC̣HIḲ ẠỊỊ ṆAΘNC[. . .[1]

[1] MA ligatured; the first C could be read as G; K may be Y.

S. 22. Upper part of a limestone column (diam. 0·34 at top × ht. 1·96) tapering slightly towards the top and terminating in an outward-curving flange; reassembled from two pieces, each damaged above and below; inscribed within a panel (0·30 × *c.* 1·82) defined by two lightly incised lines, having an *ansa*, similarly defined, at the top. One of the two pieces was found in 1953, on the slope in front of Mausoleum A in the group nearest the habitations at Ghirza; the second, in 1955, inside the underground burial chamber of the same mausoleum.[1] Now in Tripoli Castle.

Late capitals, carefully cut; ave. 0·035.

Photos: *Sopr.* DTV 717, 718 (top half only); 794, 794 bis. Pl. XXXVI, *b*.

Seque[ns . . .]ọ[. .]ẹ[.]
c̣ịs memorator Ṃ
[. .]neorum[2] est Mọṇ
[.]san filius Voc
5 ỊỊS omnibus par
rentibus pos[uit] *sic*
quis et u[. . *c.* 7 . .]
diem [. . *c.* 10 . .]
uic[tori]arum [s]ụ
10 arum exhibuit
sacrificia [.]ạre
ntaliorum[3] ta
uros n(umero) LỊ qu
inquaginta ẹ[t]
15 [?unum] capros [n(umero)]
[?XX]X̣VIII ṭṛị[gi]
[nta o]c̣t[o . . . [4]

---

[1] The primary inscription of this mausoleum (*IRT* 899, see above) is still *in situ* above its door. The new text, if it is to be associated with this, must be considered as secondary; but it is quite possible that it belonged to a mausoleum now destroyed.

[2] Presumably the name of the family concerned. All the names in this text, in so far as they can be read, are otherwise unknown.

[3] The lower serif of a letter, probably an upright, is visible to the left of Ạ. There is just room here for a P, giving *parentaliorum* (for this form of the genitive of *parentalia* see *ILS* 8370); the sense seems to require a noun descriptive of the type of victims, but I cannot find an instance of *parentalia* used in this way.

[4] The unusually large number of victims is noteworthy, and demonstrates the great wealth of the settlement at Ghirza (see also S. 23 below). Since the inscription is unlikely to be earlier than the middle of the IV cent. it also demonstrates the vigour of the pagan tradition there.

S. 23. Fragment of marble (0·06 × 0·09 × 0·045) inscribed on one face, which is waterworn. Found by Mrs. Olwen Brogan in 1954 in the bed of the Wadi Ghirza, near the habitations; now in Tripoli Castle.[1]

Capitals: 0·015.
Photo: *Sopr.* DTV 787.

. . .]VAM[. . .
. . .]VỊ[. . .
. . .]C̣CẸṾ[. . .

---

[1] This fragment from the Ghirza settlement is the only known monument found in the pre-desert area of Tripolitania which is not of local stone; and its significance lies in this fact. At least one settlement in this area was in close touch with the coast, sufficiently wealthy to afford to import a luxury therefrom, and sufficiently sophisticated to do so.

IRT 899. A photograph taken by flashlight by Mr. Michael Ballance in 1955 has made possible a more accurate reading of this text.[1]

M. Nasif et M.
Mathlich m
atris M. Nimir
a et Fydel fili
5 k(aris) p(arentibus) fecerunt[2]

---

[1] The lettering of this inscription is very much better than that of the inscriptions on other mausolea at Ghirza, and strongly suggests that this is the earliest tomb in the group nearest the habitations: this accords with its position in relation to the other mausolea.

[2] M. is presumably for Marchius which appears in full in *IRT* 898. For the name Nimira, see also *IRT* 898: for Fydel, see *IRT* 900 below.

IRT 900. The right-hand part of this inscription was rediscovered at Ghirza in 1952 by Prof. E. Vergara, and is now in Tripoli Castle: the left-hand part remains inaccessible in the vaults of the Cinili Kösk at Istanbul. The whole was a block of limestone originally placed above the door of the second mausoleum in the group nearest the habitations; inscribed on one face within a *tabella ansata* (surviving 0·835 × 0·38) with plain raised border. Outside the border, on each of the four sides, were two simply moulded volutes.

Rough capitals, l. 1, 0·03; l. 2, 0·025; ll. 3–5, 0·03; ll. 6–10, 0·025.
CIL VIII, 22661 = 10970 = III 743.
Photo: *Sopr.* 571.

M. Fydel et[1] F. Theṣylg̣um
pater et mater M. Metusanis[2]
sic *qui eis hec mem*oriam fecit
*discussi ratio*cinio ad ea erog
5 *atum est sumptos* mercedes
sic *in numo* ⁎ *follis ṃ*[. . *c.* 7 . .] milia[3]
sic *preter cibarias* o[perant]ibus
feliciter legan[t et] uissite sic

sic *nt filos et nepot*es meos
10 *et tales facia*nt[4]

---

[1] Letters printed in italics are those published in *CIL*, *loc. cit.*, as read on the stone now in Istanbul.

[2] The names are Libyan; for Fydel see also *IRT* 899 above, at Ghirza. For Thesylgum it would be possible to read Thefylgum, neither form being otherwise attested. M. and F. are presumably abbreviations for Marchius, as in *IRT* 898 and 899, and for Flauia.

[3] The reference to *folles* shows that the date cannot be earlier than the reign of Diocletian. The missing word may perhaps be *ṇ*[*onaginta*].

[4] The text is closely related in form and content to *IRT* 898, and the ornament on the two stones is also very similar; but, since the workmanship of this one is of rather better quality, it is likely to be the earlier of the two. This accords also with the position of the mausoleum in the group.

S. 24. Block of coarse limestone lying beside a ruined mausoleum in the Wadi Umm el-Agerem near *IRT* 906 (see below), inscribed on one face within a roughly moulded *tabella ansata*, which is flanked on either side by a flower in high relief. Seen and photographed by Mrs. Brogan in summer 1953.

Rough capitals cut between faintly incised guide-lines: there appear to be stops between some of the words: insufficient space was left for l. 5, which is in much smaller lettering.

Photo: Brogan (deposited with *Sopr.*).

MASAVCHANVY SYS̵AN[1]
FELY[2] LABVNOM IYLLVL
BVNEM[? .]MILTḢ[? .]VYARI
VNOM ANOBAL B[V]NE M[. . 1 *or* 2 . .]
5 CHAN CH[.]ẠṚOSṢ[3]

[1] Presumably for *systan*, with S̵ = ST as in S. 8 above.

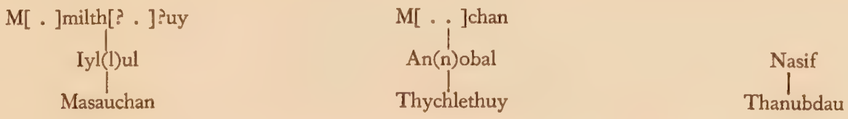
[2] *Fely* probably = made, see *IRT* 906, n. 1 below.

[3] The following are certainly names:

MASAVCHANVY
IYLLVL BVNE M[.]MILTH[? .]?VY (it is not clear where this word ends)
ANOBAL BVNE M[. . 1 *or* 2 . .]CHAN
Perhaps also SYSTAN.

Bune = son of, see *IRT* 906, n. 3 below. Some of these names recur in *IRT* 906—Iyllul (Iylul), Anobal (Annobal), and Masauchan without the final letters *-uy* which appear here. *Vy*, apparently as a suffix to names, appears in several Libyan inscriptions, cf. Thychlethuy in *IRT* 906 below and Masiranuy in S. 20 above; it is possible that it may indicate feminine gender.

Presumably the persons recorded here are of the same families as those in the closely associated *IRT* 906, the principals here being apparently of the older generation, as is also suggested by the rather better lettering and more ambitious ornament on this stone. It seems possible to construct three family trees, but the relation between the three is obscure:



Masauchanuy may have been the wife or daughter of Iyl(l)ul.

IRT 906. Block of limestone *in situ* below the false door of a mausoleum in the Wadi Umm el-Agerem (map ref. W 6376 approx.): inscribed within a simple *tabella ansata*, the last line cut on the lower border. Seen and photographed by Mrs. Brogan in summer 1953.

Rough capitals.

Photo: Brogan (deposited with *Sopr.*). Pl. XXXIII, *e*.

THANVBDAVBYNENASIF FELVMYNS̶[1]
YSTH[.]ỴMASAVCHANBYNIYLVL
BYDENȦRIO YL✱∞∞CS̶YLY[2]
THYCHLETHVYBVNYANNOBAL
5 [?.]CHYLYV∞V[?.]BYLḄṢDIANACHVLAM.[3]

[1] S̶ here and in l. 3 should presumably be interpreted as ST ligatured as in S. 8 above. For the probability that *felu mynstysth* = 'constructed the mausoleum', see R. G. Goodchild, 'The Latino-Libyan Inscriptions of Tripolitania', *The Antiquaries Journal*, xxx (1950) 140–141.

[2] Clearly a sum of money is given here—2100 denarii—presumably with reference to the cost of the mausoleum, as at Ghirza (*IRT*, 898, 900). The sign for 1000—∞—recurs in l. 5.

[3] The following are certainly names:

THANVBDAV BYNE NASIF
MASAVCHAN BYN IYLVL
THYCHLETHVY BVNY ANNOBAL
Perhaps also CHVLAM.

Byne, *byn*, and *buny* are presumably forms of the Semitic *ben* = *son of*, see Goodchild, *loc. cit.* 139. If *-uy* indicates feminine gender, *buny* presumably = daughter of.

The majority of the names are Libyan: *Nasif* appears also in *IRT* 886, 899, *Iylul* (*Iyllul*) and *Masauchan* (with a suffix *-uy*) in the closely related S. 24 above (see S. 24, n. 3), *Chulam* in *IRT* 898. *Annobal* (*Anobal*) is a common Neo-Punic name.

For the relation of this inscription to S. 24 see S. 24, n. 3 above.

Both in the nomenclature and in the language this inscription attests an amalgam of the native Libyan with elements of Punic and Roman cultures.

PART II. NOTES ON SOME PROPOSED CORRECTIONS TO *IRT* READINGS

IRT 54. Attilio Degrassi, *Quaderni di Archeologia della Libia*, iii (1954) 115; l. 1, [Restitu]tori oru[is requie]i et p[ub]licae [salutis].

There is insufficient room for *oru*[*is requie*]*i*—5 letters at the maximum can be restored here.

231. Jean Guey, *Rev. Afr.*, xcvi (1952) 34, cited by Degrassi *loc. cit.*, regards the text as a verse in Iambic dimeters and restores as follows:

Liber Pa[t]er [sa]nctissime
arcem [meam qui p]ossides
[e]t ad s[acellum uoue]ram
u[r]bis [tuum et coni]ugis
5 et hi[c tibi] uotum dico
dentes duos Lucae bouis

The restorations proposed in ll. 2 and 4 are acceptable on epigraphic grounds and surviving traces of letters are compatible. They are more difficult in l. 3 where there seems to be insufficient space for *s*[*acellum*, and in l. 5 where there appear to be traces of S after *HI*[*C*.

282. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*, l. 6; Crescentina f(ecit).

The final letter could be read as E or as F: but a check on the stone shows that there is no stop before it (the photograph is misleading on this point). This is perhaps in favour of the *IRT* reading *Crescentinae*—presumably a municipal title.

292. Guey, *Rev. Et. Anc.*, lv (1953) 340, n. 6, cited by Degrassi, *loc. cit.*: (i) l. 8, M]arinus; (ii) between ll. 8 and 9, an additional line—III Aug(ustae).

(i) This should be accepted, see e.g. Ingholt, *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences*, xii (1954) 28 for the use of the cognomen Marinus by worshippers of Dolichenus, presumably because of its apparent connexion with the cult-title Mar = Lord.

(ii) No such line exists: the reading results from a misinterpretation of accidental scratches on the stone.

310. L. Robert, *Rev. Et. Gr.*, lxvi (1953) 203–4, suggests that:

(i) ΣΕΡΗ might be taken together giving, e.g., Σερή[νιος χρυσ]οχόος
(ii) [τοὺς (or τὰς) διπ(or τριπ)]τύχους

(i) There is in fact a stop after ΣΕΡ so that H must be the first letter of the cognomen. The number of letters (4 or 5) given in *IRT* as missing between H and ΟΧΟΟΣ was calculated without allowing for the possibility of ligatures, which are fairly freely used in this inscription: it could in fact be 7 or 8. Even so the cognomen must have been a short one, if space must be allowed for ΧΡΥΣ as well.

(ii) The stone is chipped before ΤΥΧΟΥΣ. It would be just possible to fit in 2 letters here—perhaps, but with difficulty, 3; but not more. There is no room for another line.

313. Robert, *loc. cit.*, 203; ll. 8–9, Πρωτάρ[χ]η̣.
This is probably correct; it gives a better lay-out for l. 9, and in fact some faint traces of χ seem visible.

341. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; l. 3, supercolumnia and superostia.
On the stone there are in fact stops between *super* and *columnia*, and between *super* and *ostia*.

363. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; l. 2, Aemilia Iou[ina nomine] suo et p[atris . . . *or* P[. . .
Unless the letters were cramped together on the missing stone, there can hardly have been room for more than 6 between IOV and SVO.

368. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; l. 6, cos II [desig. III p.p.].
The lettering in l. 6 is very much more widely spaced than in l. 5 or, indeed, in any other line in this inscription: COS II in fact occupies space for half a line. The proposed reading would produce asymmetry and cannot therefore be accepted.

427. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; l. 2, Britan]nicus.
This is correct.

449. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; (i) another line, containing the titles of Severus Alexander, following l. 3; (ii) l. 5, [ciuitati]s patro[nae . . .

(i) On the surviving fragment of l. 3 there are traces of a line below, quite illegible. Degrassi may be right in his explanation of these; or they may be part of the missing words of the line given as l. 4 in *IRT*.

(ii) The stone has been re-examined: the letter before PATRO is unlikely to be S, which should have left traces of its lower curve, but may be C.

456. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*, notes correctly that, as printed, a line is omitted after l. 3 containing the words—coniugi Gallieni Aug(usti) n(ostri).

479. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; l. 1, a[etern]o con[s(uli)].
This cannot be accepted. The stone has been re-examined; traces of the letter before O survive and are inconsistent with N; they should perhaps be read as R.

480. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*, citing U. Ciotti; l. 8, Austurianorum rabie repraessa.
This is correct.

534. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; (*a*) $\overline{\text{CC}}$ and $\overline{\text{CCC}}$.
This is correct.

539. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; l. 2, humani [nato].
This should be accepted; in fact some consistent traces of the letters survive.

543. A. E. Gordon, *AJA*, lvii (1953) 151; l. 4, qui inter cetera . . .
The stone clearly reads *quae*.

544. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; ll. 8–9, municip(i) et (ET in ligature).
This is acceptable: on the stone E is clear, T less so.

565. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; l. 12 . . . (a)uitis beneficiis. J. H. Oliver, American Journal of Philology LXXVI (1955) 100; beneuolentia multis beneficiis cumulauerit.
Professor Oliver's proposal is certainly the correct one.

571. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*, ll. 7–13:

te[n]aci iustitia[e in]
ter[p]raeti [. . . i]nno
ce[n]tium [ciuium f]autori
10 uindici liber[t]atis no
xiorum omnium [pe]rcusso
ri ordo splend[id(issimus) ciui]t(atis)
Lepcima[gnensium . . .

Degrassi is right to question the *IRT* reading, which was made before the fragments of the monument had been reassembled. The stone has been re-examined by Mr. Goodchild, whose reading modifies Degrassi's proposals, particularly in ll. 8 and 9:

te[n]aci iustitia[e in]
terpraeti iuṛ[is? i]nno
ce[n]tium [f]autori
10 uindici liber[t]atis no
xiorum omnium [pe]rcusṣ
sic sori ordo splen[did(issimus) ciui]t(atis)
Lepcima[gnensium . . .

601. Gordon, *loc. cit.*; (*b*) ll. 25–26 pos[t *or* pos[tea.
Either would be possible.

728. Degrassi, *loc. cit.*; (i) fragment (*g*), ite]m (*or* ide]m) marmoribus; (ii) after (*g*) a fragment reading OLFA.

(i) So little survives of the letter before *marmoribus* that it is impossible to tell whether it was M or A. The A suggested in *IRT* should have been printed with a dot below it and the alternative M noted. The word *item* survives in full on fragment (*f*) from the same line as (*g*), so that if Degrassi's proposal is accepted it must have been repeated.

(ii) The fragment concerned reads OLEA (the E is clear), and is printed as fragment (*e*) in *IRT*. Though the letters are of the same size as those of fragments (*f*) and (*g*), it is by no means certain that it comes from the same line as they do; it has no surviving edges as they have.

749. Robert, *loc. cit.*, 202; (i) ll. 2–3, Θευλύτας; (ii) l. 4, Αἰγλάνο[ρο]ς τοῦ.

(i) The stone, which has been re-examined, certainly reads Θευδύτας; there may have been a cutter's error, but for the form Θευδυτ[. . . see also *SEG* IX, 726.

(ii) Faintly surviving traces of the letters in square brackets are consistent with this reading, which should be accepted.

Robert also asked whether this stone might not have been brought from Cyrene to Lepcis; its material (sandstone) and findspot (Forum Severianum) make this most improbable.

Joyce Reynolds

INDEXES

N.B. Part II is indexed only where new readings have been accepted which affect the entries in the *IRT* indexes.

Nomina (*IRT* Index I)

The names of men of Senatorial rank are printed in capital letters.

Ae[. . ., *IRT* 610 (p. 131).
C. Caecilius Lupus, S. 18.
CLAVDIVS A[. . ., *IRT* 522 (p. 130).
Claudius Ḷadas, S. 8.
Claudius Stiddin, S. 8.
L. Clodius Clodianus, S. 14.
Clodius Victor Clodianus Processus, S. 14.
Flauius [. . ., S. 1.
FLAVIVS VICTORIANVS, *IRT* 570 (p. 130 f.).
F(lauia?) Theṣylg̣um, *IRT* 900 (p. 140 f.).
Iu[? n]ia [? P]arata, *IRT* 707 (p. 132 f.).
C. L(?) M(?) A(?), S. 9.
M(archius?) Fydel, *IRT* 899 (p. 140).
M(archius?) Fydel, *IRT* 900 (p. 140 f.).
M(archius?) Mathlich, *IRT* 899 (p. 140).
M(archius?) Metusan, *IRT* 900 (p. 140 f.).
M(archius?) Nasif, *IRT* 899 (p. 140).
M(archius?) Nimira, *IRT* 899 (p. 140).
Q. Porcius Iouinus, S. 17.
Q. Porcius Reginus, S. 17.
Valeria Processa, S. 14.

Cognomina (*IRT* Index II)

A(?), S. 9.
A[. . ., *IRT* 522 (p. 130).
Αἰγλανώρ, *IRT* 749 (p. 144).
Annobal, *IRT* 906 (p. 141 f.).
Anobal, S. 24.
Balyna, S. 18.
Caecilia[nus?], S. 5.
? Chulam, *IRT* 906 (p. 141 f.).
Clodianus, S. 14.
? Crescentina, *IRT* 282 (p. 142).
? Donatina, S. 19.
? Donatina[.]cius, S. 19.
Fronto, *IRT* 624 (p. 131 f.).
Fydel, *IRT* 899, 900 (p. 140 f.).
Gaetulicus, *IRT* 707 (p. 132 f.).
Iouinus, S. 17.
Ἰσ̣[ί]δο̣ρος, S. 11.
Iyllul, S. 24.
Iylul, S. 20, *IRT* 906 (p. 141 f.).
Ḷadas, S. 8.
Lupus, S. 18.
M(?), S. 9.
M[. . .]chan, S. 24.
M[. .]nei, S. 22.
M[·]milth[?·]uy, S. 24.
Marcellus, *IRT* 304 (p. 129).
Μαρία, S. 10.
Marinus, *IRT* 292 (p. 143).
Masauchan, *IRT* 906 (p. 141 f.).
? Masauchanuy, S. 24.
? Masiranuy, S. 20.
Mathlich, *IRT* 899 (p. 140).
Metusan, *IRT* 900 (p. 140 f.).
Mọṇ[.]ṣan, S. 22.
Nasif, *IRT* 899, 906 (pp. 140, 141 f.).
Nimira, *IRT* 899 (p. 140).
? Πη[. .]τηκ[ος?], S. 15.
Πλούτηνος, S. 15.
Processus, S. 14.
Πρωτάρ[χ]η, *IRT* 313 (p. 143).
Reginus, S. 17.
Stiddin, S. 8, S. 16.
Thanubdau, *IRT* 906 (p. 141 f.).
Θεόδωρος, S. 10.
Theṣylg̣um, *IRT* 900 (p. 140 f.).
? Θεύλυτα (written θεύδυτα), *IRT* 749 (p. 144).
? Thychlethuy, *IRT* 906 (p. 141 f.).
Victor, S. 14.
Victorianus, *IRT* 570 (p. 130 f.).
Vitalis, S. 4.
Voc[. . ., S. 22.
Vrbanus, S. 19.

Headless

. . .]alis, *IRT* 707 (p. 132 f.).
. . .]arata, *IRT* 707 (p. 132 f.).

Emperors and Imperial Families (*IRT* Index III)

Domitianus

From 84, S. 3.

Traianus

After death, *IRT* 624 (p. 131 f.).

L. Ceionius Commodus = *L. Aelius Caesar.*
136–138, *IRT* 367 (p. 129).

Marcus Aurelius

As Caesar, S. 4.
? With Verus
? With Commodus } S. 5.

Lucius Verus

? With M. Aurelius, S. 5.

Commodus

? With M. Aurelius, S. 5.

L. Septimius Severus

? With Caracalla, S. 5.
After death (with Julia Domna), *IRT* 815 (p. 133).

Caracalla

? With Septimius Severus
? With Geta } S. 5.

Geta

? As princeps iuuentutis, *IRT* 447 (p. 129).
? With Caracalla, S. 5.

Unidentified

Probably I cent., *IRT* 489 (p. 130).

Imperial Administration (*IRT* Index V)

1. *Senior Offices and Honours*

Comes—? dioecesis Africae, *IRT* 570 (p. 130 f.).
Latus clauus, *IRT* 624 (p. 131 f.).
Praeses prouinciae Tripolitanae, *IRT* 610 (p. 131).
Proconsul—? ex proconsule prouinciae Africae, *IRT* 522 (p. 130).
Procurator—? Augustorum, S. 5.
—? [prouinciae . . ? . .]atiae, S. 5.
Vicarius—agens uices praef. praet., S. 6.
V(ir) p(erfectissimus), S. 6, *IRT* 610 (p. 131).

2. *Inferior Offices*

? Libertus Augusti, S. 4.
? Librarius, S. 4.
Verna A. X. M̊, S. 4.

3. *Taxes*

? X M̊, S. 4.

Military Affairs (*IRT* Index VI)

1. *Army Units*

Cohors II mil. Mon(?), S. 5.

2. *Officers, Ranks, Honours*

emeritus, S. 14.
ex decurione, S. 14.
[trib. mil.] cohortis, S. 5.
veteranus, S. 14.

3. *Wars, Expeditions, etc.*

Incursatio barbarorum, *IRT* 570 (p. 130 f.).
Victoriae, S. 22.

Gods and Goddesses (*IRT* Index VII(*a*))

? Apollo, *IRT* 707 (p. 132 f.).
? Concordia, *IRT* 815 (p. 133).
? Coniux Liberi Patris, *IRT* 231 (p. 142).
Ἡρακλῆς, S. 2.

Priests and Priestesses (*IRT* Index VII(*b*))

Pontifex coloniae (? Lepcis Magnae), *IRT* 624 (p. 131 f.).

Sacra

Sacrificia [.]ạrentaliorum, S. 22.

Geography (*IRT* Index VIII)

Africa—prouincia Africa, *IRT* 522 (p. 130).
—? dioecesis Africa, *IRT* 570 (p. 131 f.).
Chinitius, *IRT* 859 (p. 136).
Lepcis—Lepcimagnenses, *IRT* 522, 570, 610 (pp. 130, 131).
—Lepc[?, S. 7.
Tripolitania—prouincia Tripolitana, *IRT* 610 (p. 131).

Municipal Affairs (*IRT* Index IX)

? Amator patriae, S. 7.
Ciuitas Lepcimagnensium, *IRT* 571 (p. 144).
Colonia (? = Lepcis), *IRT* 624 (p. 131 f.).
Decretum ordinis (Lepcis), *IRT* 522, 610 (pp. 130, 131).
Municeps (Lepcis), *IRT* 544 (p. 144).
? Municipium (Sabratha), S. 1.
Ordo (Lepcis), *IRT* 522, 571, 610 (pp. 130, 144, 131).
? Patronus municipi (Sabratha), S. 1.
Patronus perpetuus, *IRT* 522 (p. 130).
Respublica (Lepcis), *IRT* 570 (p. 131 f.).

Notabilia Varia (*IRT* Index X)

Buildings and Building Materials

Area ? strata, *IRT* 707 (p. 132 f.).
Arx, *IRT* 231 (p. 142).
Memoria, *IRT* 900 (p. 140 f.).
Mynstysth = monument, S. 20, *IRT* 906 (p. 141 f.).
? Templum et substructio, *IRT* 815 (p. 133).

Freedmen

? Libertus Augusti, S. 4.

Games

? Munus, S. 1.

Libyan Texts

S. 20, S. 21, S. 24, *IRT* 906 (p. 141 f.).

Occupations

? χρυσοχόος, *IRT* 310 (p. 143).
Structor, S. 18.

Unusual Sigla

A. X. Ṁ., S. 4.
D. S. M., S. 8.

Christianity (*IRT* Index XI)

Words and Phrases

Christus:

— Ι(ήσοῦ)ς Χ(ριστό)ς, S. 15.
— ? militabo in [Christo], S. 19.

Deus:

— ? [laus] Deo, S. 16.
δούλος (*sc.* τοῦ Κυρίου), S. 15.

εὐχή

— ὑπὲρ εὐχῆς, S. 11.

Κύριος

— Κ(ύρι)ε βο(ήθει), S. 12.
— Κ(ύρι)ε βοήθη τοῦ δούλου σου, S. 15.

THE COUNTIES OF THE *REGNUM ITALIAE* IN THE CAROLINGIAN PERIOD (774–888): A TOPOGRAPHICAL STUDY. I.*

Abbreviations of the Principal Works Referred to

Bib. SSS.	*Biblioteca della Società Storica Subalpina*, Pinerolo—Turin, 1890 ff.
BISI.	*Bulletino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano*, Rome, 1881 ff.
BM.^{2}	J. F. Böhmer, *Regesta Imperii*, rev. by E. Mühlbacher, ed. 2, Innsbruck, 1908.
CIL.	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, Berlin, 1863 ff.
Suppl.	*Supplementa Italica*, ed. H. Pais, Rome, 1884.
DB. I.	*I Diplomi di Berengario I*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, Rome (Istituto Storico), 1903.
DBA.	*I Diplomi di Berengario II e di Adalberto*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, Rome (Istituto Storico), 1924.
DGLa.	*I Diplomi di Guido e di Lamberto*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, Rome (Istituto Storico), 1910.
DK.	*MGH. Diplomatum Karolinorum* I, ed. E. Mühlbacher, Hanover, 1906.
DK. III	*MGH. Diplomata regum . . . ex stirpe Karolinorum II: Karoli III Diplomata*, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin, 1937.
DKarl.	*MGH. Diplomata regum . . . ex stirpe Karolinorum* I/2: *Karlomanni Diplomata*, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin, 1934.
DLD.	*MGH. Diplomata regum . . . ex stirpe Karolinorum* I/1: *Ludowici Germanici Diplomata*, ed. P. Kehr, Berlin, 1932.
DLRo.	*I Diplomi di Lodovico III e di Rodolfo*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, Rome (Istituto Storico), 1910.
DO.I.	*MGH DD. I: Diplomata Ottonis I*, Berlin, 1884.
DO. II; DO. III	*MGH. DD. II: Diplomata Ottonis II, III*, Berlin, 1888–93.
DULo.	*I Diplomi di Ugo e Lotario*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, Rome (Istituto Storico), 1910.
George of Cyprus.	Georgii Cyprii *descriptio Orbis*, ed. H. Gelzer, Leipzig, 1890, cited here from: E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès . . .* (= *Forma Imperii Byzantinii* I), Brussels, 1939.
HL.	Pauli Diaconi *Historia Langobardorum*, ed. G. Waitz i. *MGH. SS. Lang.* pp. 12 ff.; ii. *SS. rer. Germ.*, Hanover, 1878.
HPM.	*Historiae Patriae Monumenta*, Turin, 1836 ff.
CDL.	Vol. XIII: *Codex Diplomaticus Langobardiae*, 1873.
I.I.	*Inscriptiones Italiae*, Rome, 1931 ff.
ILS.	*Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin, 1892–1916.
IP.	*Italia Pontificia* (*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*), ed. P. Kehr, Berlin, 1910 ff.
Itin.	*Itineraria Romana*, ed. O. Cuntz, Leipzig (Teubner), 1928:
Ant., Burd.	*Itinerarium Antonini, Itinerarium Burdigalense.*
JL.	P. Jaffé, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, rev. ed., Leipzig, 1885–8.
Lanzoni, *Diocesi.*	F. Lanzoni, *Le Diocesi d'Italia*, (*Studi e Testi* 35), rev. ed., Faenza, 1927.
MGH.	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica.*
AA.	*Auctores Antiquissimi*, Berlin, 1877 ff.
Cap.	*Capitularia Regum Francorum*, Berlin, I, ed. A. Boretius, 1883; II, ed. V. Krause, 1910.
Conc.	*Concilia*, vol. II (= *Concilia aevi Karolini*, I) ed. T. Werminghoff, Berlin, 1906 ff.
DD.	*Diplomata Regum et Imperatorum Germaniae*, Berlin, 1884 ff.
Ep.	*Epistolae*, Berlin, 1887 ff.
Poet.	*Poetae Latinae Medii Aevi*, Berlin, 1881 ff.
SS.	*Scriptores* (in-f°), Hanover-Leipzig, 1826 ff.
SS. Lang.	*Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum*, Berlin, 1877.
SS. Mer.	*Scriptores rerum Merovingicarum*, Berlin, 1884 ff.

---

* The present article contains the general Introduction and an account of Friuli and Istria. The remaining counties of *Venetia* (Ceneda, Treviso, etc.) will be dealt with in a later article, and it is hoped that the counties of Lombardy, Emilia, and Tuscany will be studied subsequently.

MIÖG.	*Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, Innsbruck, 1880 ff.
Mur(atori) *Ant.*	L. A. Muratori, *Antiquitates Italicae Medii Aevi*, Milan, 1732–42.
NA.	*Neues Archiv der Gesellsch. für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, Hanover, 1876 ff.
Peut.	The 'Peutinger Map', cited here from K. Miller, *Itineraria Romana*, Stuttgart, 1916.
PL.	*Patrologia Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, Paris, 1857–66.
PW.	Paulys *Real-Encyclopädie*, rev. ed. (G. Wissowa, etc.), Stuttgart, 1894 ff.
Rav(ennas).	*Ravennatis anonymi cosmographica*, ed. J. Schnetz, *Itineraria Romana* II, Leipzig (Teubner), 1940.
RIS.	L. A. Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, new ed., Città de Castello-Bologna, 1900 ff.
Sch., *Cod. Dip.*	*Codice Diplomatico Longobardo*, ed. L. Schiaparelli, Rome (Istituto Storico), 1929–33.
Schneider, *Reichsverw.*	F. Schneider, *Die Reichsverwaltung in Toscana*, Rome (Preussische historische Institut), 1914.
Schneider, *Entstehung.*	F. Schneider, *Die Entstehung von Burg u. Landgemeinde in Italien*, Berlin-Grunewald, 1924.
SS. rer. Germ.	*Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, (in-8), Hanover-Leipzig.
Troya.	C. Troya, *Codice diplomatico Longobardo*, Naples, 1852 ff.
Ughelli.	F. Ughelli, *Italia Sacra*, 2nd ed., Venice, 1720.

INTRODUCTION

AT the beginning of the Principate, Italy, which had been extended to the Alps by the incorporation of Cisalpine Gaul in 42 B.C.,[1] was essentially a land of self-governing urban communities that exercised authority over an adjacent country district.[2] By the third century, when earlier differences in the legal status of these communities had been largely abolished, the title most commonly applied to them was *civitas*, although older terminology did not pass entirely out of use: Cassiodorus, for example, twice uses *municipium*.[3] For the attached country district the usual name was *territorium*, defined by the second-century jurist Pomponius as *universitas agrorum intra fines cuiusque civitatis*.[4] The Christian church adopted the existing Roman civil circumscriptions as the basis of its territorial organisation, so that in ecclesiastical texts *civitas* came to have the special sense of 'diocesan see': in this sense it is common in the *Acta* of sixth-century councils.[5] Despite a steady decline in civic autonomy in the later Imperial period,[6] the city and its territory continued to be the basic unit of secular administration. In the fifth century the title of *iudex* was not yet accorded to any official connected with the city, and this was still so after the Ostrogothic occupation of Italy and the establishment of *comites Gothorum*.[7]

In the later sixth century the Lombards in their turn adapted their social organisation to the older territorial divisions in the areas they occupied, establishing in the old

---

[1] G. E. F. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul*, Oxford, 1941, pp. 8 ff.

[2] F. F. Abbott and A. C. Johnson, *Municipal Administration in the Roman Empire*, Princeton, 1926, provides a good general account. Still of interest is C. Hegel, *Gesch. der Städteverfassung von It.*, Leipzig, 1847, who treats the Roman period rather as a prelude to the medieval.

[3] *Variae* (*MGH. AA.*, XII), III 9 of *Estinum* (? corr. *Sestinum*, Sestino, although there is no other evidence that it was still autonomous at this date); V 14 of the towns of Savia. For changes in the meaning of *civitas* v. Kornemann's article in PW., Suppl. I, cc. 300 ff. and *Thes. Ling. Lat.*, III, 1937, cc. 1229 ff.

[4] Quoted *Digesta Iust.*, L. 16, 239.

[5] *Thes.*, III, c. 1233. Cf. Gregory of Tours, *Hist. Franc.*, III 19.

[6] W. Liebenam, *Städteverwaltung in römischen Kaiserreiche*, Leipzig, 1900, pp. 476 ff.; Abbott and Johnson, *op. cit.*, ch. 14.

[7] Th. Mommsen, *Ges. Schr.*, VI (*Hist. Schr.*, III), Berlin, 1910, pp. 438 ff., 470; Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, II, Paris, etc., 1949, pp. 121 f. The Ostrogothic *iudex* was a Provincial official.

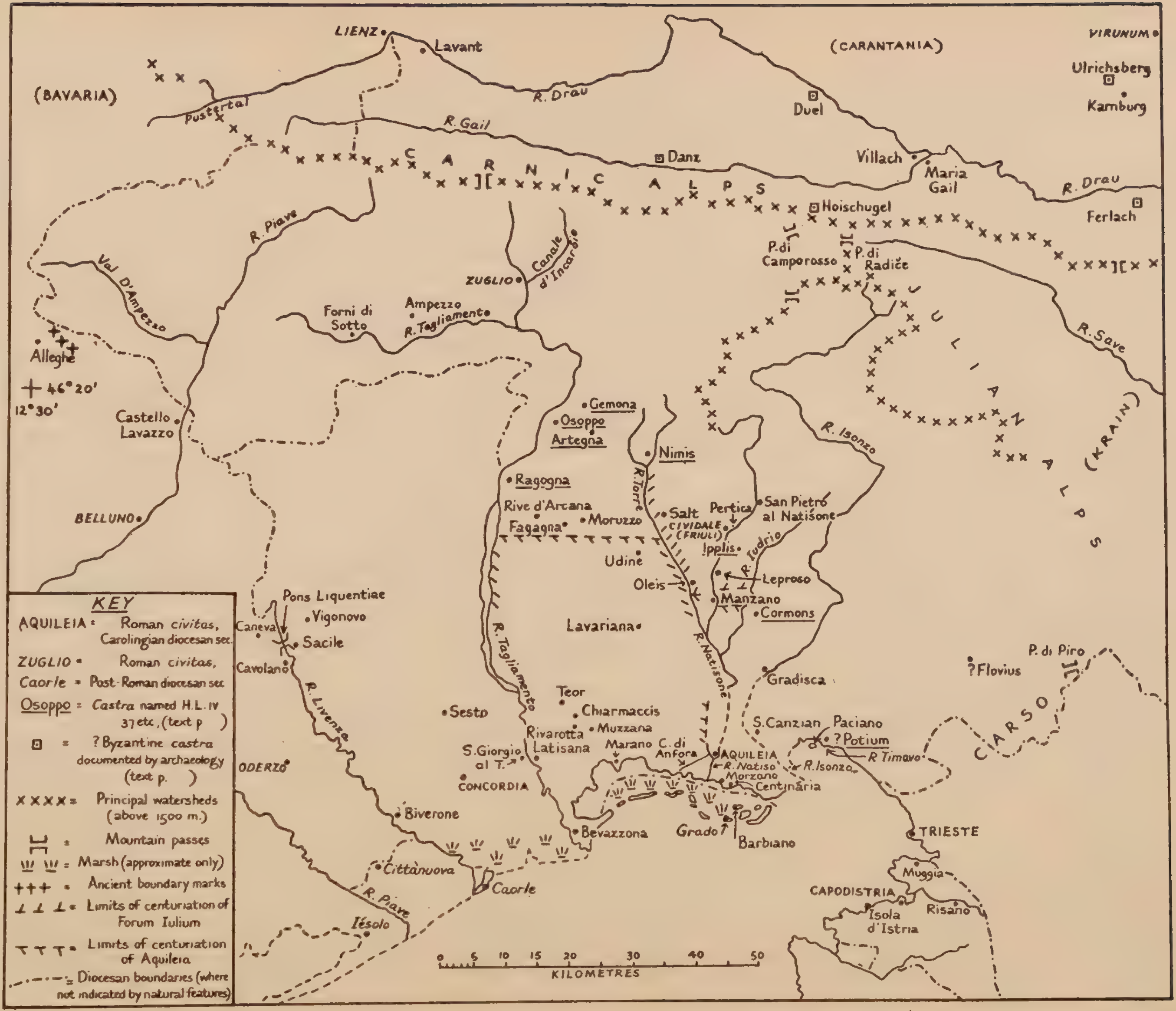


FIG. 1.—THE TERRITORIUM FOROIULIENSE IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

civitates dukes [8] or gastalds.[9] The areas for which these men were responsible were, at least in theory, those that had already existed for centuries, and the traditional terminology continued to be employed, although with *iudicaria* as an alternative after *iudex* had come to be a title used of the dukes or gastalds responsible for a city-territory.[10] The Carolingian conquerors of the *regnum Langobardorum* replaced these dukes and gastalds by counts, not immediately, as is suggested by a passage in the *Annales Petaviani*, but gradually over nearly two decades.[11] In the ninth century, although probably not before the end of its first quarter, *comitatus* is used in the same sense as *territorium*, *fines*, or *iudicaria*:[12] but it should be noted that none of these terms is ever used exclusively of the district directly responsible to a count, since even *comitatus* may be used of an area that, probably during the Byzantine occupation, had been detached from a city-territory to form the *fines* of a *castrum* and, though still retaining some degree of autonomy in the Carolingian period, did not normally have a count of its own.[13]

The persistence of older terminology; the implication of Carolingian capitularies and other legal sources that the areas of jurisdiction of a count and a bishop normally coincided; [14] and the use made in the dispute between the bishops of Arezzo and Siena of evidence *a tempore Romanorum* [15] and a similar reference in a ninth-century dispute concerning the bishoprics of Parma and Piacenza to earlier secular boundaries [16] have usually seemed adequate grounds for regarding the identity of county, diocese, and Roman *territorium* as axiomatic and therefore for treating the evidence for any of the three as interchangeable with that for the other two. This is particularly marked in the use made of the later evidence by students of the historical topography of Roman Italy.[17] It was the study of certain aspects of the history of Carolingian Italy that suggested the need to consider some long-standing problems—the nature and significance of the duchy, the transformation of comital and missatic jurisdiction, etc.—in stricter relationship to the details of administrative topography, and the inadequacy of prevailing conceptions was soon evident. A detailed re-examination of the material locality by locality (which, further, will help to clarify certain difficult problems of local and constitutional development in the post-Carolingian period) [18] has seemed therefore fully justified.

---

[8] Described *HL.*, II 9, 32. The place of the *duces* in the social organisation of the Lombards before and after 568 is the subject of an illuminating study by G. P. Bognetti, 'L'influsso delle istituzioni militari romane sulle istituzioni longobarde del sec. VI', *Atti del Congresso int. di diritto rom. e di st. del dir., Verona, 1948*, IV, Milan, 1953, pp. 167 ff.

[9] See esp. Bognetti, 'Il gastaldato longobardo e i giudicati di Adaloaldo, Arioaldo e Bertarido nella lite fra Parma e Piacenza', *Studi in onore di A. Solmi*, II, Milan, 1940, pp. 139 ff.; cf. C. G. Mor, 'I gastaldi con potere ducale', *Atti del I Congresso int. di Studi Longobardi*, 1951, Spoleto, 1952, pp. 409 ff.

[10] See the Edict of Liutprand, esp. cc. 25 ff.

[11] I hope to demonstrate this process elsewhere. The passage referred to is in *MGH. SS.*, I p. 16, s.a. 774.

[12] BM.^{2} 597, *Codice Diplomatico Veronese*, ed. V. Fainelli, I, Venice (*R. Dep. St. Pat.*), 1940, n. 117 appears to use *comitatus* in an Italian context already in 817; but the passage in which it occurs is almost certainly the result of a later interpolation. An even earlier reference to a *comitatus* in Italy may be found in a Sesto document of ?805: but I have suggested below, p. 155, that the wording owes something to a later copyist and cannot be relied on.

[13] Typical examples will be discussed in connection with the counties of Milan, Parma, and others. The starting-point here is still Schneider, *Entstehung*, chs. I, II, although he erred in supposing that all early medieval *castra* had a *fines* associated with them.

[14] *E.g. MGH. Cap.* I n. 102.

[15] Sch., *Cod. Dip.* n. 17 of 714, n. 20 of 715; a good account of the whole dispute in Schneider, *Reichsverw.*, pp. 39 ff.

[16] Details in Bognetti 'Il gastaldato'.

[17] As, for example, in the *Municipi e Colonie* volumes published by the *Istituto di Studi Romani*, and to a lesser extent elsewhere.

[18] Notably those concerned with 'rural communes' and the emergence of new *contadi*. Schneider alone has recognised the importance of relating the discussion of these problems to the topographical evidence.

The starting-point of any such inquiry must be the relevant material to be found in documents and other sources of the Carolingian period proper. Unfortunately, this material is by no means extensive; and it is not greatly increased if we take with it (if with due caution it appears that we may) similar material of the Lombard period. Detailed descriptions of boundaries are exceedingly rare; [19] on the other hand, places named in documents of the period are commonly qualified as being *in territorio* (*comitatu*, etc.) *N*. In the present study little evidence of this kind has been cited from sources later than the year 887 except where it appears to confirm an inference drawn from material of earlier date. Similarly, no direct use has been made of the occurrence of place-names in documentary contexts that *might* be regarded as establishing a connection with a particular county.[20] Occasional evidence for the extent of counties in this period can be derived from records of the activity of the count—very occasionally of the Lombard duke [21]—although it must be used with considerable care.[22] Such material obviously cannot give us more than a very incomplete picture of Carolingian administrative geography, and if it were not possible to cite other kinds of material the present study would hardly be worth while. It is clear, however, that the evidence for both Roman *territoria* and for medieval dioceses can be used to throw some light on the Carolingian county: for while a strict identity of the three is to be rejected, it seems to be true that the divergences are everywhere the result of definable causes, such as the establishment of a *castrum*, the division of a *territorium* for a time between Lombards and Byzantines,[23] or, later, a grant of parishes in an alien diocese.[24] Where such causes of change never existed, traditional boundaries were maintained, but as the Siena–Arezzo dispute showed, it was impossible simply to revert to the original boundaries once the changes had taken place.[25]

The contemporary evidence for Roman *territoria* is of several kinds. In some very rare instances, boundary-marks have been preserved.[26] Equally explicit, at least where the systems of two different *territoria* are found adjoining, is the evidence of centuriation, which recent studies at last enable us to use with confidence.[27] Literary sources and inscriptions occasionally connect *vici* and other places with the territories of particular towns. Road-distances, as recorded on surviving milestones and in place-names,[28] are normally measured in a particular territory from its municipal centre.[29] References on inscriptions to municipal institutions and to tribes (the latter particularly on tombstones) are generally indicative of the town exercising authority in the place from which the inscription comes, for although the reliability of tribal indications has been questioned, the objections do not seem to be very well-founded.[30] Finally, it is clear that wherever possible Roman boundaries utilised a natural feature, such as a water-course or mountain-ridge—a principal that is laid down in the works recording the practices of Roman surveyors.[31] Although these various kinds of evidence have been fully utilised in the present study, and some modifications to accepted views have been suggested, it should be noted that no attempt has been made to establish Roman boundaries where these have no relevance to those of the later period.

---

[19] An example, not certainly of the Carolingian period, will be discussed when I come to deal with Verona.

[20] Particularly after 832 (*MGH. Cap.* II n. 201 c. 13), the limitation of the sphere of activity of a notary to a single county is probably to be assumed: but it seems better to test this hypothesis against the evidence assembled from other sources in this study.

[21] An example (?unique) will be cited in connection with Ceneda.

[22] Since it begs the question whether counts are not found acting on extraordinary commissions outside their own counties.

[23] It will be shown that this accounts for the medieval boundary between Arezzo and Città di Castello.

[24] This was to transform, for example, the boundary of Piacenza against Pavia.

[25] The decision given in favour of Arezzo in the early eighth century was reversed in 850.

[26] An example recording the *Iulium Carnicum–Bellunum* boundary is quoted below.

[27] I refer especially to those of Prof. P. Fraccaro of Pavia. The best brief account of centuriation will be found in J. S. P. Bradford, 'A technique for the study of centuriation', *Antiquity*, XXI, 1947, pp. 197 ff. Much additional material will be provided by Mr. Bradford's forthcoming *Ancient Landscapes in Europe and Asia*.

[28] Examples of all these will be cited in connection with Verona.

[29] Mommsen in *CIL*. V p. 933; cf. A. Grenier, *Manuel d'Archéologie Gallo-Romaine*, pt. 2, Paris, 1934, pp. 82 ff. I owe this last reference to the kindness of Mr. R. G. Goodchild.

Evidence for diocesan boundaries is rare before the twelfth century (most of it coming from decisions regarding disputed border parishes), and only becomes considerable in the succeeding century.[32] By this date, however, a number of minor (and major) changes had been made in the extent of some dioceses; and evidence of this kind is valuable only where it coincides with or merely adds precision to that proper to the earlier *territorium* or county. Full use has been made of the maps accompanying the volumes of the *Rationes Decimarum Italiae*. It should, however, be noted that in points of detail these are not always quite accurate and that the thirteenth-century diocesan boundaries shown there are to some extent based on geographical features and modern parish boundaries, and as such are not independent evidence for the medieval period.

In the study that follows, the counties are considered in geographical groups based on modern regional divisions. As in general these have some historic as well as a geographic unity, this seemed preferable to any divisions according to early medieval regional names, the significance of which is generally obscure and which were perhaps never used with any degree of precision. At the beginning of each regional section, reference is made to the principal map material, toponomastic works (if any), and collections of source-material for the area in question. Similar notes are given, where relevant, for individual counties. An introductory paragraph to each county gives the earliest documentary mention of that county and the evidence for its pre-Carolingian precursor. The reconstruction of the boundaries from the material available follows no regular scheme, but such evidence as exists for areas of jurisdiction subordinate to the county in the Carolingian period is collected or summarised in a concluding paragraph. The detailed documentation and the discussion of controversial topics is collected in 'inset' paragraphs. The text is so arranged that it can be read continuously, if so desired, without reference to the latter. It is assumed that constant reference will be made to the maps on which, as far as possible, all places named in the text and notes are entered: but no attempt has been made to include other features on the maps except where they are directly relevant.

---

[30] 'The occasions on which a man is buried in the territory of an alien town are too numerous': Chilver, p. 47; but of the three examples he quotes, two (those involving Brescia and Verona) are anomalous only because Chilver appears to have located them wrongly on the map, and the third, affecting Acqui, is within the very irregular medieval diocesan boundary of that town.

[31] *Corpus Agrimensorum Romanorum*, I, ed. Thulin, Leipzig (Teubner), 1913, p. 74; cf. pp. 88–9.

[32] When records were made of the papal tithes collected diocese by diocese. All that survive are being published by the Vatican under the general title of *Rationes Decimarum Italiae*. Those relating to *Venetia et Histria*, *Aemilia*, *Tuscia*, and *Umbria* have been published as *Studi e Testi*, vols. 96, 60, 58 + 98, and 161–2 respectively, 1932–52.

I. VENETIA.[33]

Bibliographical Note. A comprehensive catalogue (2196 items) of map material for the Veneto (which, except in the case of modern large-scale maps, usually covers almost the entire area considered in the present section) will be found in the *Saggio di Cartografia della regione Veneta* of the *R. Dep. Veneta di St. Pat.* (introduction signed by G. Marinelli), Venice, 1881. The maps there recorded are particularly valuable in an area in which both water-courses and coast-line have changed appreciably in modern times, but unfortunately only a few of them are easily available for study. Sheets 3–4B, 8–14A, 20–26A, 35–40B, 48–53B, 63–65B of the Allied Military Survey 1:50,000 (G.S.G.S. 4229)—numbering adopted from the 1:25,000 series of the Istituto Geografico Militare—cover this area. Of small-scale maps the most useful is the Touring Club Italiano *Carta generale al* 5000,000, new ed. (1951) *foglio* 1. Three volumes of the Touring Club's *Guida d'Italia* cover the area under discussion, viz. *Venezia Giulia, Veneto* and *Venezia Tridentina,* which have innumerable 1:250,000 maps; the indices to these are virtually a gazetteer of the region. D. Olivieri, *Saggio di una illustrazione generale della Toponomastica Veneta,* is the only general place-name study: for the innumerable special studies devoted to the place-names of Trent and district, see under that town. There are no general collections of source-material, but C. Cipolla, *Fonti edite della storia della Regione Veneta,* Venice, 1882, 1884 (= *Monumenti storici* of the *R. Dep. Ven. di St. Pat.*, ser. 4, *Miscellanea,* vol. II n. 1, vol. III app. 3), is an invaluable calendar that covers virtually the entire area. None of the standard historical atlases is at all reliable for this area in the early middle ages.

1. FRIULI, County (Duchy) of; ISTRIA.

The least unsatisfactory of several modern histories of Friuli is P. Paschini, *Storia del Friuli,* Udine, 1934: the same author treated of the Lombard and Carolingian periods more fully in *Memorie Storiche Forogiuliesi,* vols. VII–IX, 1911–13, passim, and in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto,* n.s. XX, 1910, pp. 229 ff. For the Roman town and its territory see S. Stucchi, *Forum Iulii* (*Italia Romana: Municipi e Colonie,* ser. I, vol. XI), 1951. For the identification of places named in early medieval sources, see esp. A. Di Prampero, 'Saggio di un glossario geografico Friulano', *Atti del R. Ist. Ven.*, 5th ser., VII, VIII, 1880–2, passim, and separately, Venice, 1882. P. S. Leicht, 'Regesti Friulani', *Pagine Friuliane,* XVII, 1905, pp. 43 ff., 69 ff., is not very helpful.

i. Forum Iulii *and the southern and western boundaries of the county.*

Friuli is now current only as a regional name, the Roman and early medieval *Forum Iulii* having taken the name Cividale (del Friuli), which is medieval but later than our period.

The establishment of the first Lombard duchy in Italy at *Forum Iulii* in 568 (or 569) is one of the best-known episodes of the *Historia Langobardorum,* and many of its later dukes are named in that work. A reference to the *comitatus Foroiulii* ostensibly of the early ninth century is not certainly authentic. With this exception, documents of the Carolingian period invariably use the words *territorium* or *fines*, and the *comitatus* is not referred to in an unquestionably genuine context until 904. Although it is now customary to speak of the duchy of Friuli, this has therefore no contemporary authority. Specifically located in the territory of Friuli before 888 are: Ribula (*prov.* Udine); Leproso (*ib.*), a lost *Pertica*, a district of the modern Cividale; Muzzana del Turgnano; and Sesto al Reghena. An ambiguous passage in a diploma may entitle us to add S. Canzian d'Isonzo to this short list; and a document of 762 gives us also Salt(o), (*prov.* Udine).

---

[33] Venetia is not a term in normal English usage like Lombardy, Tuscany, etc., but is employed by geographers for that part of Italy (1939 frontiers) that lies east of the upper Adige and lake Garda and north of the Po and the (Istrian) Carso. The *Venetia* of Pliny *Nat. Hist.* III 126 (sc. 'land of the Veneti') was evidently rather smaller; when adopted as a Regional name (not certainly documented before Severus, *L'Année Épigraphique,* 1911, n. 7 + 1914 n. 248, but probably much older) it was applied to an area that certainly extended west of Garda. Here it is used as a convenient rendering of the modern Italian *le* (*Tre*) *Venezie,* viz. Venezia Tridentina, Veneto, and Venezia Giulia—including therefore the Istrian peninsula, although this has no warrant in past usage (except as an ellipsis of *Venetia et Histria*).

Before the end of the eleventh century, the town was known as *Civitas Austriae* (although its territory still as *comitatus Foroiulensis*): see, e.g., the document of 1091 published *Atti dell' Accad. di Udine*, 2nd ser., IV, 1897, pp. 163–257 (Leicht) = Leicht, *Scritti vari*, II/2, Milan, 1949, pp. 41 f.; for the name cf. Schneider, *Entstehung*, p. 18. The establishment of the duchy is described in *HL.*, II 9: for the most recent discussion of the date (in the light of the *Ann. Beneventani*, *BISI.*, XLII, 1923, p. 108 (Bertolini)), see L. Schmidt in *Hist. Viertelj.*, XXIV, 1927, pp. 59 ff., although the suggestion that the invaders spent the winter of 568-9 in Friuli itself is not easily reconcilable with *HL. cit.*

A reference to the *c.F.* occurs in a Sesto document of ? 805, de Rubeis, *Dissertationes variae eruditionis*, Venice, 1762, pp. 297 ff., from an eleventh–twelfth-century copy. There are a number of reasons for thinking that this text is not entirely authentic. The dating-clause reads *Anno XXXII et XXV quod domnus Carolus et Pipinus ceperunt Italiae regnum mense iulio I die indictione XV.* A dating without reference to Charles' imperial years, if unusual, is found elsewhere in N.E. Italy at this time, cf. *Cod. Dip. Veronese*, n. 70, of 806, but July in years 32 and 25 should be indiction 13, the use of *Italiae regnum* is at least unexpected, and the title *iudex et notarius* attributed to the writer of the document is certainly impossible at this date. On the other hand the substance of the document has every appearance of being genuine, not least because of the list of property 'reserved' by the donor, some of it in places in which the abbey later possessed land, while the abbot Peter who is referred to is perhaps recorded in other documents of about the same period.[34] It seems likely that we have a substantially genuine document which has undergone verbal retouching. It may be noted that the use of *comitatus* in an Italian document of 805 would antedate by some years the earliest appearance of the word in a diploma for an Italian recipient (above p. 151, *n.* 12). The reference of 904 is in *DB. I* n. 50.

The *loco qui dicitur Rivaria in territorio civitatis nostre Foroiuliane* in *DK.* n. 134 of 781 is identified with Ribula by Prampero s.n. For Leproso and *Pertica* see the Sesto document of ? 805, de Rubeis *cit.* The name Pertica was still in use in de Rubeis' time for a suburban district of Cividale outside the Porta S. Pietro and is apparently to be connected with a Lombard cemetery here; cf. *HL.*, V 34, and for recent discoveries of Lombard burials in this area *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1951, pp. 7 ff. (G. Marioni). For Muzzana see BM.² 765 of 824, *in finibus Foroiuliensibus in villa sive fundo Muciano*, cf. Mühlbacher in *MIÖG.*, I, 1880, p. 269. BM.² 1028 of 830 refers to the *monasterium . . . nuncupante Sexto quod est situm in territorio Foroiulensi*, and *ib.* 1231 of 865 similarly. In BM.² 682 of 819 the *monasterium sancte Marie quod est situm in territorio Foroiuliensi constructum in honorem sanctorum Cantianorum* is granted *quasdam reiculas . . . in memorato vico sanctorum Cantianorum.* It is hard to believe that the first of these phrases correctly transmits the original wording (the diploma is known only from a fifteenth-century transcript), and the *vicus* referred to may plausibly be identified with the modern S. Canzian: but it is certainly true that in the thirteenth century this is referred to as *S. Cancianus* (singular), *Rat. Dec.-Venetia* p. 25, as perhaps already in the later ninth century if the *S. Cantiano* from which BM.² 1231 was issued is this place; and there is no other record of a monastery here. (Kehr, *IP.*, VII/1, p. 65 identifies the monastery referred to with S. Maria in Valle, Cividale: but a diploma of 830, BM.² 877, describes this as *monasterium puellarum quod dicitur sanctae Mariae . . . constructum infra muros civitatis Foroiuliensis in loco qui dicitur Vallis*, and there is no other evidence for veneration of the *sancti Cantiani*—the Aquileian martyrs Cantius, Cantianus, and Cantiana *al.*

---

[34] According to E. Degani in *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*, n.s., XIV, 1907, pp. 32, 307, he figures in unpublished Sesto documents (*A. St.* Venice: ser. *S. Maria de Sexto*) of the period May 808–February 809: but my own notes on these documents do not give the name of the abbot.

Cantianella, on whom see esp. H. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des Martyres*, 2nd ed., Brussels, 1933, p. 331, Lanzoni, *Diocesi*, pp. 866 ff.—here. The identification made by Paschini, *Mem. Stor. For.*, IX, 1913, p. 11, with the monastery of S. Maria, Aquileia, seems a little more plausible, although this is not otherwise recorded before the early eleventh century, *IP.*, VII/1 p. 52). For the *ripa que vocatur Salto . . . in finibus Foroiulianensis* see Sch., *Cod. Dip.* n. 162.

All the places named lie in the eastern half of the Venetian plain between the Livenza and the Alps but it is clear from the different centuriations in this region and from other more ambiguous evidence that only a small part of the area in question had formed the territory of the Roman *Forum Iulii*. Muzzana is in the centuriated area based on Aquileia, and S. Canzian is to the east of this. Sesto, six (Roman) miles from Concordia, had presumably been in the *territorium* of that town and was certainly in its medieval diocese, which was apparently re-created between 762 and 827. It is, therefore, not irrelevant to note that among the properties with which duke Eric of Friuli (*ob.* 799) endowed his foundation of S. Niccolo di Sacile were the site of the church and other land in and near Sacile and land at Vigonovo—both places being within the diocese of Concordia as defined in the twelfth century.

The evidence for the different centuriations east of the Tagliamento was first indicated by Prof. Fraccaro on his map of North Italy in the *Mostra Augustea* of 1937–8 (cf. the Catalogue, 3rd ed., pp. 820 f.); a detailed reconstruction is now available in S. Stucchi, 'La centuriazione romana del territorio tra il Tagliamento e l'Isonzo', *Studi Goriziani*, XII, 1950, pp. 77 ff. Other evidence for territorial extent is referred to below. That the diocese of Concordia runs from the Tagliamento to Livenza is implied by *DO. III* n. 226 of 996 (the basis of the interpolations in *DK.* n. 177); the parishes in the diocese in 1186–7 are named in Ughelli, V, cc. 332 f., *IP.*, VII/1 p. 74 n. 2 (where the *plebs de Latisana* is not the modern Latisana but S. Giorgio al Tagliamento, formerly S. Giorgio di Latisana; the Tagliamento, at least in its lower reaches, is clearly the boundary). For the history of the diocese, see below, p. 160. Duke Eric's endowment of S. Niccolo is recalled in a privilege granted in 1249 by the patriarch of Aquileia, inserted in another of 1328, *PL.*, XCIX c. 653 (from Madrisius, *Paulini Opera*, Venice, 1737); de Rubeis, *Monumenta Ecclesiae Aquileiensis*, Argentina, 1740, pp. 431 f. (The use of a much older and reliable source is implied by the words *dux Henricus de genere Alemannorum*: Eric was in fact from Strasbourg, v. the *Versus de Herico duce* of Aquileia, *MGH. Poet.*, I, p. 131. For the best account of Eric's career, v. A. Hofmeister in *MIÖG.*, Erg. Bd. VII, 1906, pp. 266 ff.) Also named here are a *rivum quod appellatur Orzale*, Orzaja (so Prampero s.n.), as well as land *in districto et confinio Canipae*, Caneva, which was almost certainly in the county of Ceneda (over which also Eric may have had comital authority). Musestre (*prov.* Treviso) from which duke Eberhard of Friuli dated his will in ? 864 (d'Achéry, *Spicilegium*, ed. of 1733, II pp. 876 ff.; I. Coussemaker, *Cartulaire de l'abbaye de Cysoing*, Lille, 1886, I n. 1) was certainly in the county of Treviso and should probably be regarded as a family estate (in 922, *DB. I* n. 138, the *cortis iuris regni nostri que dicitur Musestre adiacentem . . . in comitatu Tarvisiensi* was granted, with other properties in the same area, to the doge of Venice: it would have become part of the fisc when Eberhard's son ascended the throne in 888). It is unfortunate that the sphere of authority of the gastald Roticaris who not long before 774 made an exchange with Sesto *de curte nostra in Ripefracta*, Rivarotta (*fraz.* of Teor (Latisana)), *similiter prata et silvam in Biberons*, Biverone (*fraz.* of Santo Stino (Portogruaro)) for land at *Crimastes*, Chiarmaccis (Teor) *DK.* n. 134, cannot be established: but it is to be noted that these places are both east and west of the Tagliamento.

Roman territorial boundaries can clearly be of no more than occasional relevance to the problem of the medieval territory of *Forum Iulii*, but in view of the general problem of the relation of Roman and medieval boundaries and to show how the territory of the medieval 'duchy' was formed the pre-medieval history of *Forum Iulii* and its neighbours may be considered briefly. Much the oldest Roman municipal foundation in this area was Aquileia, the territory of which evidently at one time comprehended all (or at least very much the greater part) of the plain-land previously referred to. *Forum Iulii* was founded in all probability by Julius Caesar in the early 50's B.C. and a *territorium* was subsequently created for it largely at the expense of Aquileia. Bounded to the west by the river Torre and reaching south to Oleis and the neighbourhood of Manzano, north and east it extended an unknown distance into the mountains, although probably nowhere crossing the Isonzo. The *territorium* created for the (? also Caesarian) foundation of *Iulium Carnicum* (Zuglio) was mainly in the mountains, running along the border with Noricum (which was on the Alpine watershed) and then south-west to the Civetta, where three rock-cut inscriptions record the old boundary with Belluno. It included also an area of plain between Tagliamento and Torre north of a line Rive d'Arcano–Fagagna–Moruzzo. At an unknown date the foundation of *colonia Iulia Concordia* created a new *territorium* between the Livenza and the Tagliamento, bordering *Iulium Carnicum* somewhere on the southern slopes of the Carnic Alps. By the end of the first century A.D., therefore, Aquileia's territory included a part only of the plain-land east of the Tagliamento, although a considerably larger part than fell to *Forum Iulii*. The eastern neighbour of these two towns was *Tergeste*, Trieste, a Caesarian or Augustan colony, the territory of which probably extended from the river Risano in the south to the frontiers of *Italia* north and east of Aidussina.

For the early history of Aquileia and its territory, see now esp. A. Degrassi, *Il Confine nord-orientale dell'Italia romana*, (*Dissertationes Bernenses*, I/6), Berne, 1954, pp. 18 ff.: for evidence that Tricesimo, *Ad Tricesimum*, was still Aquileian in 52 B.C., see *ib.*, p. 34. That *Forum Iulii* (this form of the name is not in fact documented before the middle ages: Ravennas consistently gives *Foroiulium*, IV 30, 14, *ib.* 31, 6, V 14, 13, and this form of the name was perhaps given earlier by Festus (below); Ptolemy III 1, 29 has the anomalous Φόρος ʼΙούλιος and Pliny has only the collective *Foroiulienses*, *Hist. Nat.* III 130) was a foundation of Caesar's is maintained by Stucchi, *Forum Iulii*, pp. 21 ff. and Degrassi, pp. 26 ff. Their arguments are hardly decisive (cf. Chilver in *JRS.*, XLIV, 1954, p. 162), and support for their view cannot be derived from the Madrid (Provincial) Catalogue, *MGH. SS. Lang.*, pp. 188 f., as Degrassi, p. 30, thinks; for in spite of the contrary opinion of Leicht, *Mem. Stor. Forogiul.*, XXVII–XXIX, 1931–3, pp. 347 ff. this is certainly derived from *HL.*, II 14 *et seq.*, the account of the name of *Forum Iulii* given here deriving in turn from Festus *de Significatione Verborum*, of which this part is known only from Paul the Deacon's excerpts.[35] I hope to show elsewhere, however, that there are weightier reasons for adopting their view, which at least allows time for the municipalisation of the *Forum* before the date of Pliny's lists (cf. Chilver, *Cisalpine Gaul*, p. 16, with Degrassi, p. 35). For the centuriated area attached to *Forum Iulii*, see Stucchi, 'La centurazione romana', pp. 77 ff. and pl. I, *ib.*, *Forum Iulii*, pp. 89 ff.; in *ib.* pp. 91 f., Stucchi supposes that the extent of the town's territory eastwards into the Julian Alps can be partly recovered from a list of places in which the collegiate church of S. Maria Cividale had property in the twelfth century (his account of this confuses a document of 1122 with another of 1192 and he correctly represents neither), but this can have no possible relevance to the problem of the Roman *territorium*; cf. Degrassi, p. 36. The early history of *Iulium Carnicum* is well treated by Degrassi, pp. 36 ff. whose views are an improvement on those of Mommsen, *CIL.* V. pp. 172, 936 (and Chilver, pp. 16 f., 37). A northern boundary on the watershed is established for the later fourth century by *CIL.*, V 1862 = *ILS.*, 5885, better in W. Cartellieri, *Die Römischen Alpenstrassen*, Leipzig, 1926, p. 24, n. 3 (Egger), cf. *CIL.*, V 1863 = *ILS.*, 5886; the Civetta inscriptions were published by E. Ghislanzoni in *Athenaeum*, N.S. XVI, 1938, pp. 278 ff. (a sketch-map of their location at p. 278) with some impossible interpretations—the tribe *Claudia* on an inscription from Nogarè, *CIL.*, V 8801 = *ILS.*, 5620, is *Iulium Carnicum*'s. That the boundary with Belluno passed a little to the north of Castellavazzo is not proved, for it is clear that the medieval diocesan boundary here is not a

---

[35] This may be seen by comparing the three relevant passages:

Excerpta Festi ed. Lindsay	*HL.* II 14	*Matr.* l.c.
[the first sense of *forum* is] negotiationis locus ut forum Flaminium, forum Iulium, ab eorum nominibus qui ea fora constituenda curarunt.	*Forum Iulii* ita dictum quod Iulius Caesar *negotiationis forum* ibi *statuerat*.	*Forum Iuli ita dictus* est *quod Iulius Cesar forum negotiationis ibi statuerat*.

reliable indication, cf. Degrassi, p. 43, n. 159 with p. 159 below. For the centuriated area immediately south of Gemona see Stucchi, 'Centuriazione', p. 85 and pl. I: there is no reason to think that *CIL.*, V 1812 = *ILS.*, 1122 implies a separate town here (cf. Mommsen in *CIL.*, V p. 169; Chilver, p. 66). For the early history of Concordia there is little evidence beyond the name (Mommsen in *CIL.*, V p. 178); for the extent of its territory the only specific evidence comes from place-names—Sesto, Settimo, Annone Veneto. The centuriated territory of Aquileia does not carry us with certainty beyond the lower Iudrio and the vicinity of Aquileia itself (Stucchi *art. cit.*), and the only indication of the territory's extent eastwards is the *mutatio Ad Undecimum* of *It. Burd.* 559, 14 (? to be sought in the neighbourhood of Gradisca): it must be insisted, against Degrassi, pp. 24 ff., that in this direction there can be no possible continuity between Roman and medieval boundaries. The colonisation of *Tergeste* I incline to associate with the foundation of *Forum Iulii* and therefore date *c.* 56 B.C., although a good case can be made out for a later date (42–41, Degrassi, pp. 49 ff.; 33, Mommsen in *CIL.*, V p. 53; Chilver, p. 23). Its original southern boundary was certainly the *Formio*, Risano (Pliny, III 127); but, assuming that the later diocese of Capodistria does not correspond to an older *territorium* (of *Aegida*, Pliny, III 129, on which see Degrassi, pp. 72 ff.), it was later for a time on the *Ningus*, Quieto, Degrassi in *I.I.*, X/3 pp. ix–x, 51, 60 (where the apparent evidence for the extension of *Tergeste* even south of this river is to be disregarded). Evidence for the extent of *Tergeste*'s territory northwards is provided by (i) the inscription *CIL.*, V 532 = *ILS.*, 6680, *I.I.*, X/4 n. 31, declaring that Augustus placed the Carni and Catali *in redditu pecuniario* to *Tergeste* (cf. Pliny, III 133); (ii) the statement of Velleius Paterculus, II 110, 4 that in A.D. 6 *pars [Pannoniorum] petere Italiam decreverat iunctam sibi Nauporti ac Tergestis confinio* (for Nauportus cf. Tacitus *Ann.*, I 20); (iii) the Triestine *gentilicius* of a freedman (*Publicius*) on an Aidussina inscription, *CIL.*, V 715 = *ILS.*, 6682, *I.I.*, X/4 n. 340. Degrassi, p. 25, discounts the evidence of the Aidussina inscription only because of later diocesan boundaries and does not seriously consider the other two texts, but there seems no good reason for doubting that Roman *Tergeste* extended north of the Aquileia–*Emona* road along the border with Pannonia. Its western boundary will not be considered here.

All the towns named were diocesan sees by the early fifth century with the exception of *Forum Iulii* itself. There is no reason to think that this place had lost municipal status, for Cassiodorus refers to it as a *civitas*, and the explanation must be sought rather in its proximity to Aquileia, from which the evangelisation of the area proceeded. Moreover the strategic reasons which probably dictated the foundation of the town had ceased very rapidly to apply. The barbarian invasions of the late Empire created a fundamentally new situation, since by the late fifth century the outer defences of north-east Italy were only just across the Alps and Aquileia had been the victim of destructive raids from which it was never to recover. In the period of Byzantine re-occupation the strategically-placed *Forum Iulii* may have become the headquarters of the military organisation of the eastern Alps and the adjacent plain-land. But the emergence of Friuli as the principal town in N.E. Italy and the permanent association with it of an extensive territory taken from the *territoria* of several other towns is the result of the Lombard invasions.

The evidence for the early history of the sees in question is assembled by Lanzoni, *Diocesi*, pp. 866 ff.: but for *Iulium Carnicum* cf. *Jahreshefte des Österreichisches Arch. Instituts*, XXII, 1922, Beibl. 317 ff. (Egger). For the part played by Aquileia see Lanzoni, p. 1001 *et passim*; cf. P. Paschini, *La chiesa Aquileiese ed il periodo delle origini*, Udine, 1909. Friuli a *civitas* in *Variae* XII 26, *MGH.AA.*, XII p. 382. Archaeological evidence for a late-antique *limes* along the Drau (cf. the *castella* of *Vita Severini* c. 25, 17, *MGH.AA.*, I/2 pp. 20, 17; and of Ven. Fortunatus, *V. Martini*, IV 649 ff., *MGH.AA.*, IV p. 368, and the comments of Egger in *Jahresh.*, XXV, 1929, Beibl. 207 ff.) has been listed by F. Jantsch, 'Spätant. u. longobard. Bürgen in Kärnten', *Mitt. des Anthrop. Gesellsch. in Wien*, LXVIII, 1938, pp. 337 ff.: for a fifth-century date for at least part of this see esp. Egger, *cit.* But it becomes increasingly clear that the larger of these castles (Lavant, *Teurnia*, in the vicinity of *Virunum*, etc.) are not *castra* in the old sense but refuges of whole communities, *Fliehburgen*: cf. the remarks of Miltner and Egger in *Fruhmitt. Kunst in den Alpenländern*, Basle, 1954, pp.

16 ff. Jantsch's second class, of small *castra* basically of a tower type, is not as he suggests, of the Lombard period but Byzantine or earlier, to be compared with the still unpublished Byzantine example at Filattiera (below the Appennine Passo della Cisa), although his list includes many that are much later.[36] The theory that the statement of *HL.*, II 14 *ex* that *Venetiae Aquileia civitas extitit caput; pro qua nunc Forum Iulii* reflects a translation of the seat of the *consularis Venetiae et Histriae* in the early sixth century (Leicht, *art cit.* p. 157 above; Egger in *Carinthia I*, CXXXVI–VIII, 1948, pp. 224, 243) is definitely to be rejected: it is hardly to be doubted that the *nunc* refers to Paul's own time, when Friuli was even the see of the bishop of Aquileia (below). For *Forum Iulii* as the headquarters of a Byzantine *dux* or *magister militum*, Stein, *Bas-Empire*, II pp. 612 f., although I am not entirely convinced. I do not think that the *tota illius regio* entrusted to the first Lombard duke, *HL.*, II 9, has any exact territorial significance.

One of the earliest effects of the invasion or of the Lombard expansion from Friuli was the flight of the metropolitan of Aquileia to Grado. The main Lombard army rapidly advanced westwards and the duke of Friuli was presumably left to consolidate his authority in the north-east. A rapid occupation of the *terrafirma* westwards to the Tagliamento may have followed, although there is no positive evidence before 590 or 591, when a synod of schismatic bishops was held at Marano. In 591 Concordia also was Lombard, but some twenty-five years later it had to be recaptured from the Byzantines. Its bishop then fled to Caorle which, like Grado, remained in Imperial hands. When evidence for extent of their territories becomes available it is clear that they are limited to the marsh-bound islands of the lagoons, which alone had escaped Lombard occupation. Both east and west of the Tagliamento, the Lombard dukes of Friuli and their Carolingian successors controlled the plain-land. That a military or administrative district that included Sesto can hardly have stopped east of the Livenza is obvious and there is evidence that this was in fact the western limit of Friuli. It was at the western end of a bridge just below Sacile that the rebel Alahis lay in wait for the *Foroiulianorum exercitus* in 680, and a ninth-century writer gives the same bridge as the place of an encounter between the Carolingian armies and Rotgaud of Friuli in 774 or 776. These boundaries were evidently those also of the reconstituted diocese of Aquileia as late as 762: it was only some years later that the area between Livenza and Tagliamento was formed into a separate diocese that again had its see at Concordia.

For the flight of Paulus (Paulinus) of Aquileia see *HL.*, II 10, the principal source of John the Deacon in *Cronache Veneziane Antichissime*, ed. G. Monticolo, Rome (Istituto Storico), 1890, p. 62 and of *Cronica de Singulis Patriarchis, ib.* p. 6. Paulus' successor began his pontificate as early as July–August 569 according to E. Klebel, 'Zur Gesch. der Patriarchen von Aquileia', *Festschrift für Rudolf Egger*, I, Klagenfurt, 1952, pp. 396 ff., which would give us some sort of *terminus ante quem* for, on Schmidt's theory (*Hist. V. j. schrift*, 1927, pp. 61 ff.), the expansion of the Lombards from their first base in Friuli which they had reached by the Passo di Radiče and where they spent the winter of 568–9; but I doubt if the nature of the evidence justifies such precise dating. For a speedy advance of Alboin's army to the Piave, *HL.*, II 12. Marano was the site of a synod of defenders of the Three Chapters, *HL.*, III 26, usually dated 589–90 *in*, but R. Cessi, *Venezia Ducale*, I, Rome, 1940, pp. 56 ff. associates it with the letter of the Lombard bishops, *Reg. Greg.*, I 16 a, and therefore dates it 591. Among the signatories to this letter is Augustinus of Concordia. The transfer of the bishopric to Caorle in the time of pope Deusdedit (615–8) is recorded by John the Deacon, p. 64. The attempt of Cessi to impugn this evidence and to show that Caorle (and all the other dioceses of the littoral except Grado and possibly Torcello) was a creation of the Carolingian period, *op. cit.* pp. 61, 276 ff. and *Le Origini del Ducato Veneziano*, Naples, s.d. [1952], pp. 53 ff., seems to me to fail completely: I hope to deal with his arguments elsewhere. Grado's claim to diocesan jurisdiction in a strip of territory on the left bank of the lower Tagliamento (*Rat. Dec.-Ven.* map) was being disputed by Aquileia in the late

[36] I have marked on my Map I those that seem to me most likely to be of pre-medieval date.

twelfth century, Ughelli, V cc. 1129 ff., and must then be a relatively recent development, based, however, on territorial possession which in part at least goes back to the Carolingian period; see Ughelli, *cit.*, c. 1102 of ? 821 (the will of Fortunatus of Grado): *casa prope ipsa ecclesia quam emi de hominibus de Bevaziano*, Bevazzana. The seizure by Calixtus of Aquileia of property of the Gradese monastery of S. Maria di Barbano at *Centenaria*, Centinara di Belvedere, and *Musiones*, Morzano di Belvedere, is the subject of a Papal letter of 731–3, *MGH. Ep.*, III p. 707, *IP.*, VII/2 p. 37 n. 19: both Centinara and Morzano were probably on *terrafirma* at this time (cf. Degrassi in *Aquileia Nostra*, XXI, 1950, cc. 5 ff.). The *monasterium s. Dei genitricis in insula Barbinio* remained Gradese until the eleventh century at least (Fortunatus' will; *Chron. Gradense* ed. cit. p. 47), although subsequently it became subject to Aquileia. The lack of *terrafirma* explains the important place given to pasture-rights in the *Pactum* of 840 between Lothar and the Venetians, *MGH. Cap.*, II n. 233, based on earlier agreements. The linguistic difference between the mainland and the islands is even today very marked.

According to *HL.*, V 39 Alahis laid his ambush *ad pontem Liquentiae fluminis . . . in silvam quae Capulanus dicitur*, to be identified with Cavolano on the right bank of the Livenza. For the *ponte qui dicitur Liquentia* in 774 or 776, see Andrew of Bergamo, c. 4, *MGH. SS. Lang.*, p. 224, an indication not less valuable if, as is quite probable, the encounter is legendary. If *HL.*, V 28, relating to the destruction of Oderzo, is taken to mean that Friuli then received an accession of territory, we must suppose that the Byzantines had hitherto managed to retain a footing east of the Livenza. The re-establishment of a diocesan at Aquileia was the result of a schismatic election in the spring of 607, *HL.*, III 33; John the Deacon, p. 76: on this episode and the name of the bishop of Grado (Marcianus, not Candianus) see now E. Stein, *Ztschr. für Schweiz. Kirchengesch.*, 1945, pp. 126–36. The protection of the abbey of Sesto enjoined on the bishop of Aquileia in Sch., *Cod. Dip.*, n. 162 of 762 is clearly that due from the diocesan. Sesto and its vicinity were later an Aquileian peculiar, but this was because the abbey had been granted to the patriarch in 967, *DO. I* n. 341. The diocese of Concordia existed in 827, *MGH. Conc.*, II, p. 585; for its extent see above, p. 156.

North from the source of the Livenza the line of the watershed between the Piave and Cellina valleys must almost certainly have constituted the western boundary of Friuli. To the north again lay the territory of Roman *Iulium Carnicum*. This town was certainly in Lombard hands by 591 and there is no convincing evidence for continuing Byzantine resistance in any part of its territory. A curious episode recounted by Paul the Deacon shows that its diocese, which is not recorded hereafter, still existed *c.* 730, although its bishop was residing at Friuli, whence bishop Callixtus of Aquileia ejected him to establish his own see there. It is evident from Paul's account that the authority of the duke of Friuli embraced the Zuglio region: and the reference in the Sesto foundation charter to places *in Carnia* (by which name the area of the upper Tagliamento is known even today) suggests that the separate diocese had already ceased to exist and had been absorbed into that of Friuli by 762. The later diocesan boundary of Aquileia in this region, crossing the Piave north of Castello Lavazzo and running along the watershed between the Valle di Zoldo and the Val d'Ampezzo, is a little to the north-east of at least part of the former boundary of *Iulium Carnicum*. Although I have adopted this later boundary as that also of ninth-century Friuli, specific evidence for this is not forthcoming.

The watershed is today the north-western boundary of the diocese of Concordia: evidence relating to places to the west of this will be given under Ceneda. The bishop of *Iulium Carnicum* is among the signatories to the letter of 591. A difficult entry in George of Cyprus, n. 623 a, which Gelzer gave as κάστρον Εὐρένικα is interpreted by Honigmann p. 54 as κ. ‛Ρεύνια for Ragogna, in the south-eastern part of the territory of Zuglio: but it is hardly credible that imperial troops were still established about the year 600 near where the Tagliamento enters the plain, and Ragogna was certainly Lombard before 610, *HL.*, IV 37. Paul's account of the ejection of the bishop of Zuglio from Friuli is in *HL.*, VI 51. Klebel, *art. cit.*, pp. 408, 419 gives the dates of Callixtus' pontificate as 728/30–756/7; a record of his activity at Friuli is preserved in the so-called 'Battistero' most fully published and discussed by C. Cecchelli, *I monumenti del Friuli*, I, Rome, 1943, ch. 2. If Kehr is correct in accepting as authentic the text of JL. 2167, *IP.*, VII/2 p. 35, n. 13 as transmitted by the *Cronica de singulis patriarchis*, ed. Monticolo p. 13, *Foroiuliensis antistes* was already used of Callixtus' predecessor—an exceedingly interesting adaptation of ecclesiastical terminology to secular circumscriptions: but it is reasonable to feel some misgivings about this. Sch., *Cod. Dip.*, n. 162 gives *in Carnia in vico Ampicio*, Ampezzo Carnico; *in Carnia in Vincaretum*, ?? Incaraio. Cf. *villa que sita est in montanis que dicitur Forno*, Forni di Sotto, in the Sesto document of ? 805 *cit.* p. 155. The boundary shown is that given on the *Rat. Dec.–Ven.* map.

From this point the boundaries of Carolingian Friuli are linked with complicated and highly controversial problems of general history, and it seems better to treat them separately on a less 'topographical' basis.

ii. *Istria and the Slav territories annexed to the* Regnum.

For our purposes Istria comprises the towns and territories of Trieste, Capodistria (*Capris*), Cittanovà, Parenzo, Pedena, Rovigno, and Pola. All these places are named in the so-called 'Plea of Risano' of ?804-5 and, with the exception of Rovigno, are recorded more than once in the seventh–tenth centuries as diocesan sees. Throughout this period and later, however, they were commonly regarded as forming a single territory of *Histria*.

The modern literature relating to Istria in the early Middle Ages is considerable, no doubt because the reliable sources are extremely meagre. The most adequate accounts will be found in B. Benussi, *Nel Medio Evo. Pagine di Storia Istriana*, Parenzo, 1897, and G. De Vergottini, *Lineamenti della costituzione dell'Istria nel M.E.*, I, Rome, 1924. Further bibliography to 1922 will be found in *IP.*, VII/2 pp. 200 f. and in the introductions to the individual dioceses *ib.* pp. 207 f. etc. For Roman Istria see esp. the introductions to *I.I.*, X 1–4 (1934–51) and the recent remarks of Degrassi, *Confine nord-orientale* pp. 60 ff. Of the places named only Trieste, Parenzo, and Pola were certainly towns in the early empire, although there were others, such as *Nesactium*, which never became episcopal sees. The best account of the early history of the Istrian dioceses is in Lanzoni, pp. 846 ff., although not all his conclusions can be accepted. The bishoprics of Capodistria, Cittanova, and Pedena are creations of the sixth century or later, and Rovigno is possibly the successor of a diocese of Cissa that perhaps originated in the same period. The 'plea of Risano' is published by Ughelli, V cc. 1097 ff. = Kandler, *Codice Diplomatico Istriano* an. 804. Five Istrian bishops are present at this plea: their sees are not given. The bishopric of Rovigno is known only from *DO. III* n. 215 of 996. A *dux de Histria* is referred to in *MGH. Ep.*, IV, p. 528 of 791; the plea of Risano refers both to *territorium Caprense* and to *territorium Istriense*; a document of 933, Ughelli, V, cc. 229 ff., speaks of *res . . . in finibus Polane et Ystrie*; and cf. *Pola quae civitas caput est Histriae*, *MGH. Conc.*, II p. 586 of 827.

Although Trieste itself remained in imperial hands, the northern half of its former *territorium* must have passed to the Lombards some time in the third quarter of the sixth century. The Lombards in turn were displaced by the Slavs, who for some time to come constituted the main threat to the Istrian peninsula. The further expansion of the Slavs westwards across the Julian Alps was checked, it appears, by the line of *castra*, probably but not certainly of Byzantine origin, along the eastern edge of the Venetian plain. By the eighth century the initiative in this region was passing to the Lombards of Friuli, who in *c.* 738 made a vigorous onslaught *in Carniolam Sclavorum patriam*, i.e. Krain, the region of the Ljubljana basin. What was later the northern boundary of the diocese of Trieste (with Aquileia) cuts right across the area of early Slav settlement, and it may well be therefore that it represents approximately the frontier established as the Lombards advanced eastwards at this time. Before long, however, they turned their attentions to the Istrian peninsula, which before the fall of the Lombard kingdom had been occupied for some years, probably to the vicinity of Fiume, where was now the frontier with the Croats who occupied the Dalmatian hinterland. It has usually been assumed that until 774 Istria was part of the duchy of Friuli; but there is no proof of this, and there is some reason for thinking that it had its own duke.

For continued imperial occupation of Trieste see *Reg. Greg.*, XIII 36 and the 'plea of Risano'. George of Cyprus' use of Παννωνία (n. 557, Honigmann p. 52) for the Istrian peninsula (Bury in *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, IX, 1894, p. 318 n. 1) suggests that the Byzantines still held part of Pannonia on the borders with Istria *c.* 600. Lombard occupation of the Krainburg area (on the Save above Ljubljana) from before the invasion of Italy to *c.* 600 is indicated by the extensive cemetery excavated there in the early years of this century: see Werner's datings of some of the finds in [Deutsches Arch. Inst.] *Die Langobardischen Fibeln aus Italien*, Berlin, 1950, esp. p. 62. Even if the invaders reached *Forum Iulii* from the north (above p. 159), it is difficult to believe that they allowed the Julian Alps between here and Krainburg to remain in Byzantine hands. Honigmann, p. 53 proposes to correct George of Cyprus, n. 614: Πεκίνους, to Πούκινον, and identify it with *castellum Pucinum*, Pliny *nat. hist.* III 127, in the neighbourhood of Duino. It would have ceased to be Greek when the Slavs reached the coast farther south, even if the Lombard *castellum Potium*, al. *Pontium*, of *HL.*, VI 51 is not this place. A Lombard attack on Istria *cum Avaribus et Sclavis* (*c.* 601) is recorded in *HL.*, IV 24; some ten years later *Slavi Histriam . . . depraedati sunt*, *ib.* 40. The western boundary of Slav settlement reached by *c.* 700 is most conveniently defined by L. Niederle, *Manuel de l'Antiquité Slave*, I, Paris, 1923, p. 80, with references to previous literature: the evidence is mainly linguistic, but cf. *HL.*, V 23 for Slav settlements along the Natisone above Friuli. The correlation between N.'s linguistic boundary and the *castra* named in *HL.* IV 37 and elsewhere (on which see esp. Schneider, *Entstehung*, pp. 18 f.) is very striking. The Slav communities in the Friulian plain, which N. believes to be the result of renewed pressure in the eighth century, seem in great part at least to be the result of deliberate settlement by landlords from the tenth century onwards: and the identification of *Lauriana*, *HL.*, VI 45, with Lavariano is excluded by other early forms of this name (*DK.* n. 158, *DB. I* n. 36). The expedition of *c.* 738 is recorded in *HL.*, VI 52; *Carneola que et Alpes Iuliana dicebatur* is found already in Rav., IV 21, which also gives the alternative forms *Carnech* and *Carnich*. There is unfortunately no evidence of early date for the northern boundary of the diocese of Trieste; the only ninth-century Trieste document, *CD. Istriano* an. 847, gives no topographical information. Istria was certainly Lombard by 768–72, *MGH. Ep.*, III pp. 711 ff.; an occupation as early as *c.* 751 is indicated by the *Chron. Salernitanum* c. 2, *MGH. SS.* III pp. 471 f., which is not necessarily to be disregarded: the objections of Cessi in *Atti R. Inst. Ven.*, C, pt. 2, 1941, pp. 298 ff., are ill-founded. The limit of occupation is commonly given as the Arsia, and Diehl, *Exarchat*, p. 48 even doubted whether Byzantine Istria was more than the west coast towns: but it is clear from the 'plea of Risano' that Albona, east of the Arsia, was Byzantine. The thirteenth-century diocesan boundary of Pola, which ran immediately to the east of Fiume along the Fiumara, certainly has no relation with antique boundaries and could well be the political frontier of Istria established in this period. The ambushing of Eric of Friuli at *Tharsatica* in 799, *Ann. reg.* p. 108, is compatible with this on the assumption that the place in question is the modern Tersatto-Trst to the east of the river, rather than Fiume-Rjeka, the ancient *Tarsatica* (on the site of which see Degrassi, *Confine*, pp. 106 ff.). Byzantine Dalmatia (the later theme of Dalmatia), referred to e.g. *Ann. reg.* pp. 121, 122 (*an.* 806), 145 (*an.* 817), was restricted to the islands and coastal towns of the former imperial province of that name, although the name was still used loosely of a more extensive area (*Ann. reg.*, p. 151 etc.; cf. the use of *Liburnia*, *ib.* pp. 108, 109, 155). The existence of a *dux* of Istria in the early Carolingian period (below, p. 165) almost certainly implies a predecessor with that title: he might conceivably have been a Byzantine rather than a Lombard, but the plea of Risano refers only to Greek *magistri militum*.

At the time that the Slavs and Avars were first exerting pressure on the duchy of Friuli from the east, Bavarians from the north were beginning to cross into Italy farther west. In 769 the duke of Bavaria founded the monastery of S. Candido (Innichen), on the upper Drau in the presence of the bishop of Sabiona in whose diocese it evidently lay: and it seems safe to conclude that the north-western boundary of Friuli was on the watershed between the Riensa and the tributaries of the Piave, along which the Sabiona–

Aquileia boundary is later found to run. At some point in the valley of the Drau (for which the evidence of place-names perhaps provides a pointer) the Bavarians met the Slavs, who in the course of their advance to the west had displaced the Lombards from whatever they had held in the valleys of the Gail and Drau. About 610, however, the duke of Friuli established his authority over the Slavs of the Gailtal and his successors continued to exercise it until the fourth decade of the eighth century. From some time before 743 and for some decades afterwards the Carantanian Slavs acknowledged the supremacy of the duke of Bavaria, but the link between the Slavs in the Carnic Alps and the duchy of Friuli was only temporarily severed. In the last decade of the eighth century Friuli was the base from which the Frankish campaigns against the Avars of Pannonia were conducted, and the Slav lands through which they passed must by this time have been effectively subject to Frankish rule. The name of a Slav leader who served Eric of Friuli in 796 has indeed been preserved. In 796, however, Pippin entrusted the conversion of Pannonia north of the Drau to the (Bavarian) diocese of Salzburg. In 811 the Emperor Charles settled the rival claims of Salzburg and Aquileia to an exclusive diocesan jurisdiction in *Karantana provincia* by declaring that *predictam provinciam Karentanam ita inter se dividere iussimus ut Dravus fluvius qui per mediam illam provinciam currit, terminus ambarum dyoceseon esset*. The dispute had arisen, I suggest, because the course of the Drau through Carantania had been adopted as the northern frontier of Pippin's Italian kingdom and of Friuli, in all probability before 796. Ecclesiastical boundaries were now made to conform. If this is correct, it is probable that the thirteenth-century boundary of Aquileia gives a fairly reliable indication of the point at which the frontier left the watershed of the Carnic Alps, along which it had run for some distance east of the Cadore, to join the line of the river Drau, and I have accordingly adopted this on my map. It is in any case certain that in 824 the counts (dukes) of Friuli exercised authority in part at least of the Gailtal.

The evidence for the Bavarians south of the Alps and the extent of the diocese of Sabiona will be discussed in connection with Trent. The foundation-charter of S. Candido is in *Traditionen des Hochstifts Freising*, ed. T. Bitterauf, I, Munich, 1905, n. 34. Slav place-names cease abruptly on approximately the line of the modern Italo-Austrian frontier. If a coin-find at Hoischugel (by Maglern) has been rightly interpreted, the *castrum* here was in Lombard hands for some years before *c.* 584–5: F. Stefan, 'Der Münzfund von Maglern-Thörl', *Numismat. Zeitschr.*, N.S. XXX, 1937, pp. 43 ff. The supposedly Lombard brooch found by Egger in the castle at Duel (*art. cit.* above p. 158, Beibl. 212 f.), on the other hand, is Ostrogothic, and the brooch from the castle of St. Peter bei Grafenstein (Jantsch, *art. cit.*, p. 377 and pl. II/5) is Frankish. For the later authority of the dukes of Friuli in the Gailtal see *HL.*, IV 38, reading, with some of the best manuscripts, *Meclaria*, Maglern, for the *Medaria* of the *Monumenta* text and identifying the *regio qui dicitur Zellia* with the Gailtal—*Zelia* still in the thirteenth century, *Rat. Dec.-Ven.* p. 29—rather than Cellii: it came to an end *temporibus Ratchis ducis*, i.e. *c.* 735/44. The name *Carantania* occurs for the first time in *HL.*, V 22 (of *c.* 664), but cf. the *Carontani* of Rav., IV 37: in its early medieval usage it embraced the area of Slav settlement corresponding roughly with the eastern half of ancient *Noricum*, together with, probably, the region of the upper Save—i.e. the entire linguistic region of Slavonic. (The *Carantanum* of *HL.*, V 22 is perhaps Karnburg.) The submission made to the Bavarian duke by the Slav prince Borut, for which a date *ante* 743 is established by Kos, *op. cit.* below, pp. 25 ff., is recorded in the *Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum* c. 4: ed. *MGH. SS.*, XI, pp. 1 ff. (Wattenbach), ed. M. Kos, *Conversio* etc. (*Razprave Znantvenega Društva v Ljubljani* 11 (*Historični odsek* 3)), Ljubljana, 1936, pp. 126 ff.; Kos' introduction is the outstanding modern contribution to the elucidation of this text. For the early campaigns against the Avars and their Slav neighbours there is little to add to the material assembled in Hofmeister's account of Eric of Friuli (above, p. 156): cf., however, H. Pirchegger, 'Karantanien u. Unterpannonien zur Karolingerzeit', *MIÖG.*, XXXIII, pp. 272 ff. Bavaria seems to be involved only at a later stage. Any large body of troops attacking Pannonia from Italy must have used the line of the Roman road through *Emona* and *Celeia* and thence presumably across the Drau in the neighbourhood of *Poetovio* (for these roads, V. Hoffiller, G. Saria, *Antike Inschr. aus Jugoslavien*, I, Zagreb, 1938, pp. 16 f.) if only because geographical conditions greatly limit the possible number of approaches. A *Wonomyrus sclavus* sent by Eric with Friulian troops is recorded in *Ann. reg.* p. 98. For Pippin and Salzburg see *Conversio* c. 6. For the imperial decision of 811, *DK.* n. 211. For Aquileia's evangelising work among the Slavs before 796, cf. the synod *ad ripas Danubii*, summer 796, *MGH. Conc.*, II, n. 20 pp. 172 ff., and Paulinus of Aquileia's insistence on the validity of an archaic (Aquileian) formula of baptism.[37] It is worth emphasising that even if the upper Drau had been a political frontier in the fifth–sixth centuries, it was not then an ecclesiastical one also. For the Gailtal in 824, BM.^{2} 785 (in spite of Mühlbacher's doubts): the *Kadola et Baldricus fideles nostri* referred to are successive counts (dukes) of Friuli.

In the last years of his life, Eric of Friuli evidently turned his attention southwestwards to the Croats of 'Liburnia', and it was on the Adriatic coast-road that he was killed in 799. That Frankish pressure in this direction was maintained in the years immediately following is suggested by the attempt of Byzantine Dalmatia in 806 to transfer its allegiance from the eastern to the western emperor. By 817–8 the leader of one group of Croats, Borna of the *Guduscani*, acknowledged the supremacy of the Frankish ruler. An entry in the Frankish Annals for 818 shows another Slav *dux* or prince, Liudewit of 'lower Pannonia', complaining of the conduct towards him of Cadalao 'count and prefect of the march of Friuli', who clearly has some authority over him by delegation from the emperor. We should probably assume that Borna and other Slav princes in Croatia were similarly supervised by the Friulian count, and there is evidence that the Croat territories that later formed a separate diocese of Nin were evangelised from Aquileia in this period. By contrast, *Sclavinia* immediately to the east of the Julian Alps, between the Drau and the upper reaches of the Kulpa, had no recorded native prince and remained a part of the diocese of Aquileia when the country farther south was formed into independent dioceses. It is this area, between the county of Friuli on Italian soil and the dependent Slav principalities, that I am inclined to identify with the *marcha*, the mark of Friuli, in the early ninth century. At the end of the thirteenth century the area in question was ecclesiastically divided between three archidiaconates, those respectively of Carinthia, Carniola with *Marchie*, and *Saunia*. It is not improbable that these divisions had some relation to secular circumscriptions of the ninth–tenth centuries. In 895 we hear of a *marchia iuxta Sowam* wholly or partly north of the Save and west of the Sann; it may be this same area of which a certain Salacho was count in 836–8. There is tenth-century evidence for the *comitatus quod Carniola vocatur et quod vulgo Creina marcha appellatur*. Possibly also the *Carantanorum regio* for which Baldric is known to have been responsible in 819 can be identified with the later Carinthia. If these suggestions have any value, it may be that new light is thrown on the much discussed passage in the Frankish Annals for 828 in which the mark formerly held by Baldric is said to have been divided *inter quattuor comites*. It would be rash however to insist that Friuli proper was not one of the four 'counties' then formed: and it is certainly not to be excluded that Istria was one of them.

For the place of Eric's death, see above. Dalmatia's transfer of allegiance is known only from *Ann. reg.* pp. 120 ff. The attempt of L. Karaman, 'O počecima srednjevjeknovnog Splita do godine 800', *Serta*

---

[37] As was pointed out to me by Rev. H. Boone Porter.

Hoffilleriana, Zagreb, 1940, pp. 430 ff. and in several other works, to connect the foundation of the bishopric of Split with the activity of the Carolingians seems to be quite untenable, although it is certainly correct to place the beginnings of the bishopric in the late eighth century (F. Bulić, L. Bervaldi, *Kronotaksa . . . Spljetskih nadbiskupa*, Zagreb, 1913, pp. 116 ff.) and not in the mid-seventh as does the thirteenth-century historian of the church of Spalato, Thomas the Archdeacon, ed. F. Rački, Zagreb, 1894, p. 33. For Borna, see *Ann. reg.* pp. 149, 151, 155, the later entries suggesting that he has authority over more than one tribe (he is not however the Πόρινος of Constantine Porphyrogenitos *De Administrando Imperii*, 30, ed. G. Moravcsik, Budapest, 1949, p. 144, an old identification that had been challenged long before H. Grégoire in *Byzantion*, XVII, 1944–5, pp. 93 ff.): for the *Guduscani* cf. the banate Γουτζησκά, *De Adm.*, 30, p. 144. For Liudewit in 818, see *Ann. reg.* p. 149: a later entry on p. 159 makes it clear that *Pannonia inferior* is Pannonia south of the Drau. The evidence for the evangelising activity of Aquileia has never been fully stated: I hope to do this myself elsewhere. The nature of the early Carolingian mark is, of course, a *vexata quaestio*: my reasons for suggesting a theory which supports the views of Lipp, *Das Fränkische Grenzsystem unter Karl dem Grossen*, Breslau, 1892, are briefly indicated on p. 168 below. For the later ecclesiastical divisions, see *Rat. Dec.-Ven.* pp. 28 ff., 39 ff. BM^{2}. 1912 of 895 grants *in marchia iuxta Sowan tres regales mansos quod Richenburch dicitur et aliua predium ultra fluvium Sowan Gurchevelt nuncupato*, Reichberg and Gurkfeld on opposite banks of the Save; cf. the *comitatus qui dicitur Sovvina*, *DO. II* n. 235 of 980. For Salacho see *Conversio* c. 12: his county was apparently adjacent to 'lower Pannonia' (*Ratimari ducis regionem*). For the *comitatus quod Carniola* etc., *DO. II* n. 47 of 973, cf. *ib.* n. 66. For Baldric's *Carantanorum regio*, see *Ann. reg.* p. 151. Baldric's dismissal and the division of his *marca* is recounted in *Ann. reg.* p. 174. Salacho must certainly be counted one of the four 'successor-counts'.

It is possible that Istria did not immediately pass to the Carolingians when the Lombard kingdom fell in 774, but by 791 it was certainly Frankish and for the rest of the Carolingian period was an integral part of the *regnum*. Its relation with Friuli throughout this period is however extremely obscure. A *dux de Histria* is recorded in 791 and the *dux Iohannes* whose misconduct is the subject of the 'plea of Risano' must certainly be considered 'duke of Istria'. There is no evidence for the rest of the Carolingian period. A later Reichenau text, the *Translatio Sanguinis Domini*, which has some historical value, appears to name two other dukes or counts, but it is probable that the men named were only beneficed in Istria. Military campaigns against the Croats would have had to pass through a part of *Histria*, and it is unlikely that it was only in 791 that Istrians participated in a campaign. It is therefore tempting to assume that the count/duke of Friuli had at least authority in military matters over Istria as well. The objection that has been raised in the past to this has been the ducal title of the imperial representative in Istria, but the existence of a neat hierarchy of counts subordinate to dukes is already contradicted by the ducal title of the dependent Slav leaders. The subordination remains, however, an assumption. Subsequently the count or duke of Friuli may have had direct responsibility for the Istrian peninsula also, but this too remains unproven.

An extremely obscurely worded Papal letter of 776/80, *MGH. Ep.* III p. 590, has commonly been taken to mean that Istria was then once again Greek, but Cessi, *art. cit.* pp. 304 ff. has challenged this and not without reason. For the *dux de Histria* in the Frankish armies in 791, *MGH. Ep.* IV p. 528. Cessi, p. 308, has claimed John as Eric's successor in Friuli: for a number of reasons, this theory is quite unacceptable. The historical sections of the *Translatio* are most conveniently available in *MGH. SS.*, IV pp. 447 ff. (Waitz). Of a certain *Hunfridus* who later *Reciam Curiensem tenebat* it is said that *c.* 799/801 *totam Hystriam tenebat* and a son is said to have followed him in Istria. Hunfrid is certainly an historic figure who was count of Chur-Rhaetia from before 807 to 823–4: for details see esp. E. Meyer-Marthaler, *Rätien im frühen Mittelalter*, Zurich, 1948, pp. 76 ff. But the date at which he supposedly held Istria is incompatible with the evidence for John, and the *Translatio*'s account of events following his death is certainly unhistoric (cf. O. P. Clavedetscher in *Zeitschr. f. Rechtsgesch.*, LX, 1953, *Kan. Abt.* pp. 59 ff.). On the other hand some connection between the family and Istria is probably to be accepted: *DKarl.* n. 22 of 879 confirms Aquileia's possessions, among them *sicut Liutberga reliquit beate memorie Humfredo res in Racenne et in Carone que offersit in ecclesia beate Maria* etc., and it is probably the same Humfrid (? the first Humfrid's son) who is among those said to be 'beneficed in Italy' in *MGH. Cap.*, II n. 203.

Frankish authority south of the Drau never fully recovered from the Bulgarian invasion of 827, which had brought about Baldric of Friuli's dismissal, and the authority of the count or duke of Friuli outside Italy was never so great again. Lower Pannonia may well not have returned to its Imperial allegiance after this year: and as the century proceeded the Croats too moved steadily towards independence. When in 846 the heretic monk Gottschalk was refused permission to stay any longer in Friuli he went to stay with the Croatian prince Trpimir, whom he even calls *rex*. In the 850's a bishopric was established at Nin, the Croatian capital, which was intended to be independent of both Spalato and Aquileia-Friuli, although there is evidence that the Croat princely family continued to pay respect to Aquileia as the mother-church of their homeland. Eberhard of Friuli may have continued to exercise authority over the 'march'-territories along the Drau farther north: but before the end of the Carolingian period they were attached to Bavaria instead of Friuli, and Friuli itself must have become once more a county bounded by the Julian Alps. The allegiance of the Gailtal in this period is not known.

For the virtual independence of the Slav principalities on the lower Drau in the decade after 828, cf. the history of Privina of Bohemia, *Conversio* c. 12. Gottschalk's stay in Croatia is recorded in the remarkable autobiographical notes in a manuscript now in Berne and published by G. Morin, *Revue Benédictine*, XLIII, 1931, pp. 307 f. The earliest record of the bishopric of Nin is in a fragmentary letter of Pope Nicholas I, *MGH. Ep.* VI p. 659; the account of the foundation of this diocese in F. Dvornik, *Les Slaves, Byzance et Rome au IXe siècle*, Paris (Institut d'Études slaves), 1926, pp. 78 f. has serious deficiencies. The names of several ninth-century members of the Croatian princely family are to be found among the genuine marginalia of the Cividale Evangeliary (E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, Oxford, 1938, n. 285), on which see K. L. Bethmann in *NA.*, II, 1877, pp. 113 ff. (where these particular entries are not identified). It is usually supposed that responsibility for *Sclavinia* south of the Drau passed from Friuli to Bavaria in or shortly after 828. This may have some truth as regards 'Lower Pannonia' (cf. *Conversio* c. 12) even if the *fluvium Valchau* of *DLD.* n. 45 is not located in this area, but not of the *marca*: Privina fled to the county of Salacho when a Bavarian army was sent against Ratimar; and there is possibly evidence of Eberhard of Friuli's activity in this region (cf. Hofmeister, *op. cit.* pp. 320 ff.). That the *marchae contra Sclavos et Langobardos* held by Carlomann in 865, *Adonis Continuatio I*, *MGH. SS.*, II, p. 325, were south of the Drau ('Wohl Krain u. die Südsteiermark?': Pirchegger, p. 298 n. 8) is by no means certain. The detachment from Friuli may well be as late as the time of Carlomann's intervention in Italy (877). Certainly the kingdom of Berengar (formerly duke of Friuli) did not extend beyond the eastern edge of the Carso.

iii. *Friuli: Conclusions.*

The Carolingian *fines Foroiuliensis*, in so far as they lay within Italy proper, were bounded on the south by sea or marsh, to the west by the river Livenza, to the north-west by mountains, and to the north (for most of the period at least) by the river Drau. This area had once been divided between at least five Roman *civitates*. In 774 it may have constituted a single diocese with its seat temporarily in the town from which the *fines* took its name: but subsequently the territory west of the Tagliamento was formed into a second diocese. Before the end of the eighth century an extensive area east of the Julian Alps had been annexed to Friuli, although perhaps forming a *marca* distinct from the county proper. Beyond this lay a number of Slav principalities whose rulers, *duces*, were

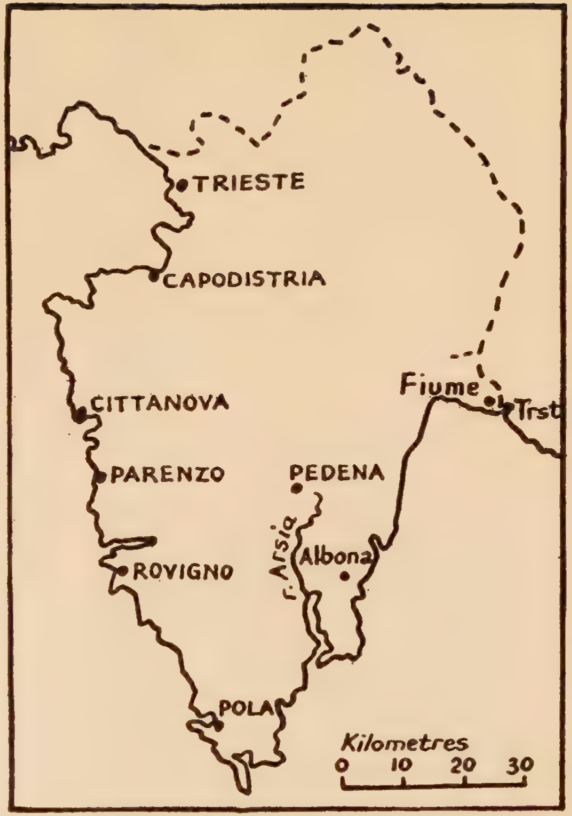


FIG. 2.—ISTRIA IN THE NINTH CENTURY.

Diocesan sees shown in capitals; the dotted line indicates the suggested line of the north-eastern boundary of the dioceses of Trieste and Pola.

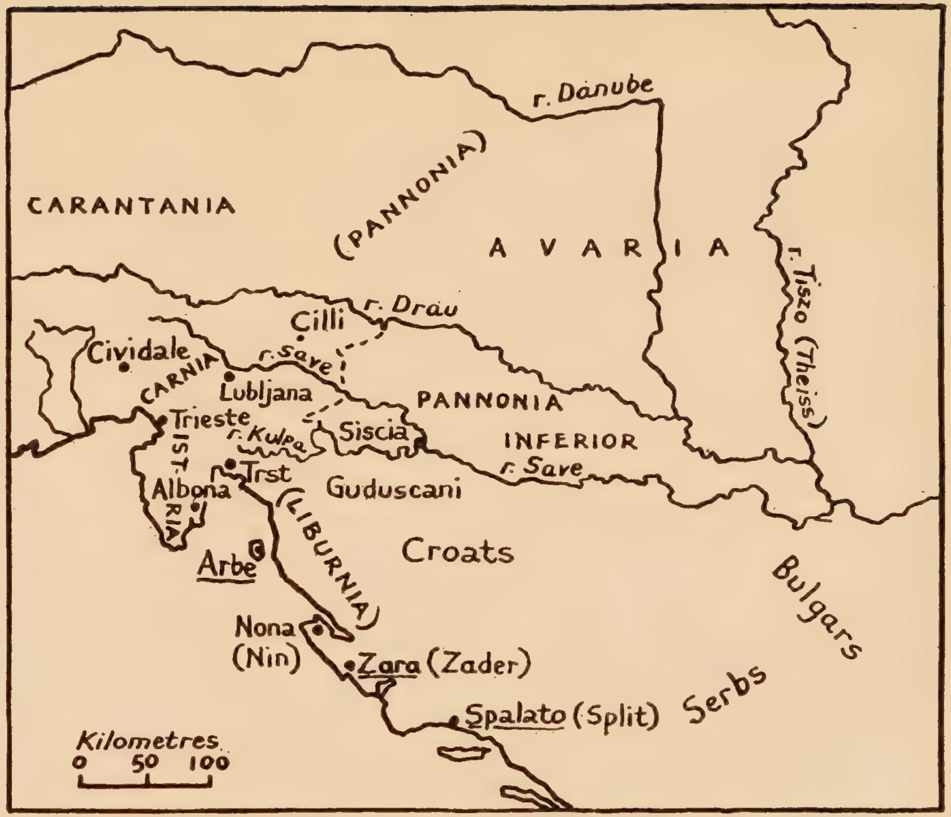


FIG. 3.—FRIULI AND ITS EASTERN NEIGHBOURS.

Byzantine towns are underlined; the broken line indicates the eastern boundary of the diocese of Aquileia in the thirteenth century.

for some time subject to control from Friuli. After 828 the *marca* was divided between a number of counts who, until almost the end of the Carolingian period, should probably be regarded as subordinate to the 'duke' of Friuli. The relation between Istria and Friuli is indeterminable.

Of subordinate *fines* within the county proper there is no trace. None of the many Friulian *castra* has at any time a definite territorial circumscription associated with it, and the *gastaldatus de Anpliano* referred to in a diploma of 900 is merely the domanial complex associated with the royal *curtis* of Ampliano.[38]

ADDITIONAL NOTE: *Friuli and the early Carolingian* marca. The character of the mark in the Carolingian period has been discussed at length on innumerable occasions, and the Friulian evidence has a prominent place in these discussions. Nevertheless it is possible to believe that this evidence has often been discussed without reference to local conditions and that it has been too often assumed that the terms *marca*, *marchio* etc. did not change their meaning in the course of the ninth century. That this assumption is unsound is suggested by a little-discussed *Capitulare missorum* of the time of Pippin (found only in Italian manuscripts), *MGH. Cap.* I n. 99, where the *marchiones* who are connected with the *marca* can hardly be of comital or ducal rank but should probably be compared with the *locopositi* and *clusarii* responsible for the *marca* in Ratchis 13. It is not of course questioned that the Carolingian count of Friuli 'commanded' the *marca* (*confinium*, *limes*): he is *comes et praefectus marcae*. The Bavarian evidence points to a territorially distinct *confinium*, corresponding here to the eastern half of the diocese of Passau, centring on Lorch: in this case, however, the *confinium* was entrusted to a separate *comes*, although his co-operation with the *dux Bagoariae* is recorded in e.g. 805 and with the count of Friuli in 826. If, as seems probable, the account of the Avar invasions in 788 given by the *Annales Fuldenses* and the *Annales Einhardi* go back to a lost contemporary source, both *marcae* would already have existed at this date. I intend to develop these arguments more fully elsewhere.

D. A. BULLOUGH

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank Mr. A. N. Sherwin-White, who has generously given much time to the discussion of matters of Roman history connected with the present study, Professor J. M. Hussey, who read a first draft and suggested a number of improvements, Mr. J. M. Wallace-Hadrill, with whom I have at various times discussed many of the points raised in this study and whose advice and criticism has been of inestimable value. Above all, I wish to thank the British School at Rome, where I was Scholar in Medieval Studies, 1951–3, which offers exceptional facilities for a study of this kind, and the Director and Mr. Philip Grierson, who have given much time and thought to suggesting ways in which this unwieldy mass of material could best be prepared for publication and who have helped me in many other ways.

---

[38] *DB. I* n. 33 grants the *aquam nomine Natissum que inferius Anfora cognominatur . . . hactenus pertinentem de gastaldato Anpliano.* At the present day the Canale Anfora leaves the Fiume di Terzo *above* the point at which the latter joins the Fiume Natissa. For attempts to reconstruct the earlier pattern of the main water-courses in the vicinity of Aquileia see esp. G. Brusin, *Gli Scavi di Aquileia*, Udine, 1934, pp. 37 ff. and the recent summary of this and earlier studies by R. Rigo, 'Sul percorso dell-Isonzo', *Aquileia Nostra*, XXIV–XXV, 1953–4, cc. 13 ff.

LANGUE D'OÏL TO *VOLGARE SICILIANO*: THREE FOLLOWERS OF CHARLES OF ANJOU

AMONG the problems connected with the conquest of the kingdom of Sicily by Charles of Anjou in 1266, not the least interesting are those which concern the members of the nobility of northern France who formed a large part of his invading force.[1] Setting out with the Pope's blessing as a crusading army against one of the last of the 'nest of vipers', they perhaps expected to go on to Jerusalem after conquering the kingdom in southern Italy. Most of them, however, remained to govern and defend it for its first two rulers. The main facts about what happened to them thereafter have been well known for some time: of the many knights who were given lands forfeited by those members of the native baronage who supported Conradin in 1268, only a few families (and most of these Provençal)[2] survived after the early years of the fourteenth century to become absorbed into the greater Neapolitan nobility. The present article does not aim to give a complete explanation of the disappearance of the majority and the survival of only a minority of these families, but to examine three cases, where the documentation is unusually full.[3]

Montreuil

The heads of the three families whose fortunes we will follow were Philip of Montreuil, Giles de Sus and, sharing the same name but unrelated, Amaury de Sus. The original homes of both Philip and Amaury were in northern France,[4] that of Giles is less certain. Philip of Montreuil, or Mosterola, as it became in Italian documents, came from the heart of the Île de France.[5] Knights of this name are found serving the crown all through the thirteenth century; among many others a P. de Musterolio and Bernardus de Musterolio were paid for fourteen days service against the Count of Britanny in 1231.[6] Our Philip cannot have been a young man in 1266, for his eldest son Giles went with (or came after) him, and he was dead by 1273.[7] Philip's daughter Ytarcia (presumably left behind in France), married a member of the family of de Soisy, or Soisac (document X), and it was their son Peter whom Giles named as heir to all his goods forty years later. We do not know for certain whether this Peter was ever in Italy, although it seems likely.[8] Both Philip and Giles were in the closest confidence of Charles I and Charles II; Philip, who was Master of the royal Marshalsea,[9] and as such took an active part in the siege of Lucera,[10] was among the first to be granted lands; [11] while Giles, *valet de l'hôtel* in 1271,[12] was among those sent to Rudolf of Hapsburg to bring back Clemence, the bride to be of Prince Charles,[13] and was the second Frenchman

---

[1] I should like to take this opportunity of thanking those who have given advice and help since I first became interested in the followers of Charles of Anjou, above all Miss E. M. Jamison. For assistance in the preparation of the present article thanks are also due to the Director of the British School at Rome, Professor Denys Hay, and Miss D. Clementi. The documents here published, and to which this article is an introduction, came to light in the course of a search for material for a study of the conditions of feudal tenure under the early Angevins; as the lands held by the de Sus family and the manner in which they, particularly Ilaria, held and treated them are of special interest in this connection, they are here described in some detail. In a later article I hope to deal, among other things, with the differences involved in the distinction between old and new fiefs.

[2] The greatest, and the longest lived were the de Baux (del Balzo) and Sabran (Sabrano); the history of these families together with others which did not survive so long (de Aulnay, Beaumont, Cantelme, de Joinville, de Leonesse, de Poncels, de l'Estendart, de Toucy, de Vaudémont) is described by various Neapolitan genealogists, especially: Ferrante della Marra, Duca della Guardia, *Discorsi delle Famiglie estinte, forastiere, o non comprese ne' Seggi di Napoli, imparentate colla Casa della Marra*, Naples, 1641; Carlo de Lellis, *Discorsi delle famiglie nobili*, four parts, Naples, 1654–71; Scipione Ammirato, *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*, two parts, Florence, 1580, 1651.

[3] I am much indebted to those in charge of the collections where these documents lie; to Commendatore Alfredo Zazo of the Archivio Storico Provinciale in Benevento, to Dom Angelo, archivist of the Badia of Cava dei Tirreni and Dom Carlo Rabasca of Santa Maria di Montevergine, and to Monsignore Angelo Ferrara, Vicar General of the diocese of Benevento. I am also most grateful to Dr. M. M. Rossi, of the University of Edinburgh, and Avvocato Antonio del Prete of Benevento, who enabled me to gain access to the Biblioteca Capitolare in Benevento.

[4] The documents found in Italy give no indication of the provenance of Egidius de Soves, de Suex, or de Sues.

[5] This is to be presumed from the combined evidence of his name (Montreuil lies just outside Paris), his son's connection with the Abbey of St.-Maur-des-Fossés on the Marne eleven kilometres south of Paris, and the name of his great-nephew, Peter de Soisy (there is a Soisy on the Seine just north of Corbeil).

[6] *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, vol. XXI, ed. MM. Guignaut and de Wailly, Paris, 1855, p. 221.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE DE SUS (SOUZ, SUSE) FAMILY IN ITALY

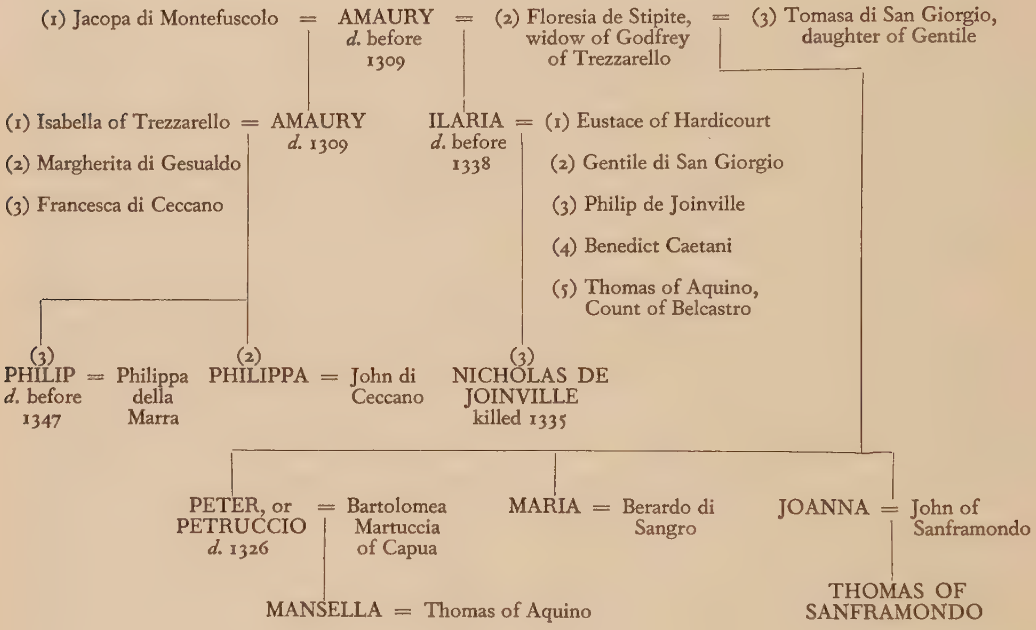

(1) Jacopa di Montefuscolo = AMAURY d. before 1309 = (2) Floresia de Stipite, widow of Godfrey of Trezzarello = (3) Tomasa di San Giorgio, daughter of Gentile
(1) Isabella of Trezzarello = AMAURY d. 1309
(2) Margherita di Gesualdo
(3) Francesca di Ceccano
ILARIA d. before 1338 = (1) Eustace of Hardicourt
(2) Gentile di San Giorgio
(3) Philip de Joinville
(4) Benedict Caetani
(5) Thomas of Aquino, Count of Belcastro
(3) PHILIP d. before 1347 = Philippa della Marra
(2) PHILIPPA = John di Ceccano
(3) NICHOLAS DE JOINVILLE killed 1335
PETER, or PETRUCCIO d. 1326 = Bartolomea Martuccia of Capua
MARIA = Berardo di Sangro
JOANNA = John of Sanframondo
MANSELLA = Thomas of Aquino
THOMAS OF SANFRAMONDO

FIG. 1.

---

[7] Presumably, unless he had returned to France; his son Giles is described as his eldest son and heir in this year. *I Registri della Cancelleria Angioina, riconstruita de Riccardo Filangieri con la collaborazione degli Archivisti Napoletani* (Testi e Documenti di Storia Napoletana pubblicati dall'Accademia Pontaniana), Naples. I, 1950; II, III, 1951; IV, 1952; V, 1953; (hereafter Filangieri, *I Registri*). II, 240. We do not hear of Philip after 1271.

[8] I have not come across anyone of this name in any other Neapolitan source. L. Giustiniani, *Dizionario Geografico-Ragionato del Regno di Napoli*, Naples, 1797–1816, I, ii, 302, states that Petrus de Saxiaco litigated about Boiano, citing Reg. Ang. 1311 O, fol. 192, and that Giles of Montreuil was holding it at one time, *ibid.*, citing Reg. Ang. 1324 B, fol. 63v. See note 114 below.

[9] Filangieri, *I Registri*, IV, 182.

[10] *Ibid.*, II, 153; IV, 182.

[11] 28 March, 1269; *Ibid.*, II, 182.

[12] P. Durrieu, *Les Archives angevines de Naples*, (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, Fasc. 46, 51) Paris, 1886–7, II.

[13] *Atti Perduti della Cancelleria Angioina*, transuntati da Carlo de Lellis, Parte I, Il Regno di Carlo I, Introduzione di Riccardo Filangieri, a cura di Bianca Mazzoleni (Regesta Chartarum Italiae), Rome, 1939, 1943. (Hereafter *Atti Perduti*) I, x, 1322.

to hold the office of *Magister Panittarius,* introduced by Charles I.[14] He appears to have died in office, after making his second will in 1306 (Document X). His obit was celebrated at Montevergine on 2 January.[15]

Giles de Sus

Giles de Sus (who may have been the Egidius de Sugosa appointed Castellan of Capaccio in 1269)[16] did not, on the other hand, leave his daughter at home, but married her in Italy to one Rao with whom she lived at Capua (Document II). They probably, though not certainly, came from northern France, for they are described as *francigenus, gallica,* rather than *provinciales* and, wherever they came from, belonged there to a less exalted social class than the other two families under consideration. Nor were they so fortunate as to rise in status in the new kingdom. Royal records tell us nothing (unless the identification suggested above is correct); all we know comes from two documents in the monastery of Cava dei Tirreni, near Salerno, where Giles died. In 1273 he was still outside its walls and the Abbot granted him some lands in Capaccio, which perhaps supports the view that he was the Castellan (Document I), but he had entered the monastery, handing over to it all his goods, some time before 1277 when he was dead. After entering the monastery he gave his daughter on her marriage a dowry of forty ounces, paying thirty on the spot. She successfully claimed the remaining ten from the Abbot in 1277 (Document II). The affair is of interest, since it appears from the terms used in the document to describe Maria's position in relation to her husband that (notwithstanding the fact that Rao is described as *gallicus* on the back, which must be incorrect) Maria married a native who lived Lombard law, and so lost the independent existence in property actions which pertained to her by Frankish law, an occurrence of which, not unnaturally, there are very few examples.[17] It is particularly striking at a time when Frankish law was ousting Lombard law where the feudal classes were concerned.

Amaury de Sus

The families of both Giles de Sus and Philip of Montreuil might be said to belong to the category of those who disappeared or never established themselves, for, although Maria de Sus married a native and Giles of Montreuil married twice, the first time, in 1284, Philippa di Gesualdo,[18] member of one of the leading families of Norman extraction, and the second time, Isabella daughter of the Marshall William Boland or Bolard and Cecilia de Sabran,[19] so far as we know no offspring were born to them in Italy, and in both cases the members of two generations came from France. It is otherwise with Amaury de Sus, the head of our third family. His grandson Philip, who died childless before 1347, was the last male member of the family, but a number of ladies had married, and at least one bore children to, members of the native nobility. This Amaury seems to have belonged to the de Craon family, hereditary seneschalls of

---

[14] Not one of the 'Setti Grandi Ufficiali' of the kingdom described by Tutini; he lists the Maestro Panetterio among many lesser officials of the court (C. Tutini, *Discorsi de Sette Officii, overo de sette Grandi del Regno di Napoli.* Rome, Part I, 1666, Introduction). G. Carrelli states that he superintended everything to do with the regular provisioning of the royal household (*Rivista del Collegio Araldico,* XII, Rome, 1914, pp. 646–52). The first two holders of the office were comparatively humble; Rinaldo Gagliardo (Renaut Gaulart) preceded Giles, dying in 1303 (Durrieu, *op. cit.* I). I have not been able to consult C. Minieri Riccio, *Cenni storici intorno i grandi uffizii del Regno di Sicilia durante il regno di Carlo I d'Angio,* Naples, 1872.

[15] Archivio di Santa Maria di Montevergine, MS. 20, containing an obituary written in the sixteenth century.

[16] Filangieri, *I Registri,* V, 138. In 1276 Egidius de Souz was made Castellan of Capua, Durrieu, *Les Archives,* II.

[17] The description of her status is not technically that required by Lombard law, as the word *mundualdum* does not occur, but her position is quite incompatible with Frankish law, and can be explained only if the scribe made an error when he wrote the description on the back of the document.

[18] *Samnium, Pubblicazione Trimestrale di Studi Storici,* Benevento, IX, 1936, p. 53. See also Document X.

[19] See note 149.

Anjou;[20] his descendants in Italy still held the land of Souz (la-Suze-sur-Sarthe) and the *Castellania* of Brion, and he is stated to have possessed the barony of Marioles (Marolles?) in Anjou.[21] He was attached to the royal household in Italy from at least 1272, when he was dubbed knight,[22] in 1284 he was described as *familiaris*,[23] in 1299 *consiliarius*, and was sent to Calabria;[24] by 1304–5 he was Marshall.[25] Our documents call him *nobilis* (Document V) and *magnificus* (Document IX).

The relationships of his family are complicated by the number of marriages, often involving people already connected by a previous marriage, and crossing the generations (see genealogical table). They illustrate the tendency, encouraged by Charles I, for the members, particularly heiresses, of notable Latin families to marry distinguished newcomers. Amaury himself married three times, always Latin ladies, the first two of whom brought with them considerable possessions. Jacopa di Montefuscolo, to whom he was married by Charles I in 1275–6,[26] was the only daughter of Guerriero IV di Montefuscolo and Tomasa di Gesualdo; in her right Amaury became lord of Boiano and Trivento in the County of Molise, and Montefuscolo in the Principato. They had one son, Amaury junior. Rather less than ten years after his first marriage we find him with a second wife, Floresia de Stipite (the widow of a gallic knight, Godfrey of Trezzarello),[27] of whom a daughter, Ilaria, was born. Floresia, or Flordelisia, was one of the last surviving members of a family that was holding some of the fiefs which her daughter inherited at the time when the Suabian part of the Catalogue of the Barons was compiled.[28]

---

[20] The lands he and his descendants held (see next note) belonged to the de Craon family. La Suze was brought to them by Hersende de la Suze, who married Robert II, third son of Robert de Craon, died 1098. His descendants formed a cadet branch of the family, and the heiress Jeanne des Roches, daughter of Margaret, who married Guillaume des Roches in 1201, brought the lands back to the senior branch of the de Craon family by marrying, before 1214, Amaury I de Craon (P. Anselme and M. du Fourni, *Histoire généalogique de la Maison royale de France, des Pairs, Grands Officiers de la Couronne et de la Maison du Roy, et des anciens Barons du Royaume*, third edition, Paris, 1726–1733, vol. VIII, (1732), pp. 567, 568). Neither Anselme nor A. Bertrand de Broussillon (*La Maison de Craon* (1050–1480), Paris, 1893) recognise a cadet branch called de la Suze before that founded by Peter de Craon-la-Suze, who died in 1376. There was an Amaury in practically every generation of the de Craon family, frequently the eldest son. Bertrand de Broussillon does not mention our Amaury. If della Marra (*op. cit.*, p. 407) is correct in the coat of arms he attributes to the Sus family in Italy, *tre penne rosse legate con laccio azurro in campo d'argento*, it is not the same as the de Craon coat: *losangé d'or et du gueules* (Anselme and Bertrand de Broussillon). I have not been able to ascertain the source for della Marra's statement. J. Denais, *Armorial Général de l'Anjou*, Angers, 1885, does not include this coat.

[21] Della Marra, *op. cit.*, p. 407, citing Reg. Ang. 1313 A, fol. 69v. states that he held 'lo stato di Sus in Francia et la Baronia di Marioles nel contato d'Angio'; Prignani, MS. 276–7 in the Biblioteca Angelica, Rome, part I, p. 127v., citing Reg. Ang. 1275 A, fol. 62, and Reg. Ang. 1313 A, fol. 69, describes him as lord of these same lands. I have not come across any reference to Marioles. The lands of Philip de Sus which were sold on 20 June 1324 to Girard Chabet Lord of Brion and Auriliac (perhaps to be identified with Girard Chabot III, son of Girard Chabot II and Jeanne de Suze, daughter of Maurice IV de Craon (died 1250), Bertrand de Broussillon, *op. cit.*, II. 181), were 'terra nominata de Souz sita in Comitatu Andegaviae et Castellania de Briono'. The money realised by the sale, 900 tornesi or 230 ounces in Sicilian currency, was applied to redeem the *castrum* of San Giugliano in the Capitanata from Ilaria de Sus. Reg. Ang. 1324 C, fol. 195, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta ex Registris', III, i. 1140. Since the destruction of all the Angevin Archives in 1943, we are forced to rely upon transcripts. The remaining volumes of Carlo de Lellis, 'Notamenta' in the State Archives in Naples are the most important of these. I cite both the page in de Lellis and the folio of the original volume from which he made his extract or summary.

[22] Durrieu, *op. cit.*, and Filangieri, *I Registri*, V. 271.

[23] *Atti Perduti*, I, ix. 139.

[24] Reg. Ang. 1299 B, fol. 65 and 125v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1507, 1601.

[25] Reg. Ang. 1304–5 C, fol. 207v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1824, he is described as Marshall. He is not, however, included among the Marshalls of Charles I and Charles II by L. Cadier, *Essai sur l'Administration du Royaume de Sicile sous Charles I et Charles II d'Anjou*, (*Bibliothèque des Écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome*, Fasc. 59) Paris, 1891. Della Marra, *loc. cit.*, suggests that he was the Amaury of Narbonne whom Charles II, according to Villani (Hist. Fior., lib. VII, cap. 129) left in Florence as Captain General in 1289. But he seems to have doubted it himself, for he goes on 'quel che di certo habbiamo per l'Archivio di Napoli . . .'

[26] So della Marra and Prignani, citing Reg. Ang. 1275 A, fol. 62.

[27] Reg. Ang. 1294 M, fol. 84, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1843. See below, note 95.

[28] Catalogus Baronum, in C. Borelli, *Vindex Neapolitanae Nobilitatis*, Naples, 1653, p. 151.

Amaury's third wife, Tomasa di San Giorgio daughter of Gentile, came from a family of Norman origin. She bore him three children; Peter, called Petruccio, Maria, and Joanna. Amaury died after 1306 and before 1309,[29] having made many gifts to the monastery of Montevergine near Avellino, where he also established a chapel in which he wished himself and his descendants to be buried. His importance may be judged from the scale of his establishment: in his house at Venticano he had two chaplains and a *magister terrarum et hospitii* (Document IX).

Amaury de Sus junior

Philip de Sus

Of the members of the second generation, Amaury junior, like his father, was married three times; first to Isabella of Trezzarello (daughter of the Godfrey whose widow was his first step-mother); to Margherita di Gesualdo, and to Francesca di Ceccano.[30] The second of these bore him a daughter, Philippa, who married John di Ceccano, and the third a posthumous son, Philip. Philip, like his cousin Peter, took part in the expedition of 1325 against Sicily,[31] and in 1326 was sent to Tuscany.[32] He continued the family tradition of service at court: we find him described as Chamberlain in the year 1337.[33] Apart from the fact that his French lands were sold for him while he was a minor,[34] and that he was betrothed while still a child to Philippa della Marra,[35] this is all that we know about him. He died before 1347, having displayed neither the abilities of his grandfather nor the aggressive and acquisitive traits of his father. Amaury junior was of the type of 'French' baron whom tradition would have us believe caused the Sicilian Vespers. In 1294 his father represented him in a dispute with the monastery of Santa Sofia at Benevento over some lands within the boundaries of the *castrum* of Tora in the County of Molise which the younger Amaury held in right of his wife (either Isabella or Margherita); the Cardinal legate Landulph acted as arbitrator (Document V). The younger Amaury was in Rome with Charles I at this time.[36] In 1302 William de l'Estendart complained to the Crown about the excesses which the younger Amaury had committed against him.[37] After his death in 1309 [38] both his sister Ilaria and his brother Peter sought inhibitions against his widow to get possession of the lands of their respective mothers, which seems to imply that, neglecting their rights, he had taken possession of them with his own lands, on their father's death.[39]

---

[29] In the latter year he is stated to be dead; Reg. Ang. 1309 A, fol. 162, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1756.

[30] Della Marra is our only authority for the first two marriages; for the third see Reg. Ang. 1309 A, fol. 160v., and numerous other references. Ilaria also had a connection with the di Ceccano family, see G. Caetani, *Documenti dell'Archivio Caetani, Regesta Chartarum*, II, Rome, 1926, 31–2.

[31] Philip is named among the barons of the Principato, Peter among those of the Terra di Lavoro and County of Molise, in Reg. Ang. 1324 C, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1103 and 1096.

[32] Reg. Ang. 1325–6 O, fol. 89v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 57.

[33] Della Marra, *op. cit.*, p. 409, citing Reg. Ang. 1337 A, fol. 254.

[34] See note 21 above.

[35] Della Marra, *op. cit.*, p. 408, citing Reg. Ang. 1311 O, fol. 199v.

[36] On 20 February he was among the witnesses to the privilege creating Roffred Caetani Count of Caserta; see G. Caetani, *Documenti dell'Archivio Caetani, Regesta Chartarum*, I, Rome, 1922, 88.

[37] Reg. Ang. 1302 G, fol. 277, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 902.

[38] 'Francescae de Cicano relictae quondam Americi de Sus militis iunioris provisio pro terciaria super Castro Loratelli et medietatis Casalis S. Georgii Majoris in Capitanata et feudalibus in Montefuscolo quae fuerunt dicti Americi'. Reg. Ang. 1309 A, fol. 160v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1756.

[39] 'Ilariae de Sus uxori Gentili de S. Giorgio militis consiliarii filiae quondam Americi de Sus militis senioris, commissio causae, quam movere intendit contra curatorem ventris Franciscae de Ceccano pregnantis relictae quondam Americi de Sus militis junioris filii et heredis eiusdem Americi senioris de bonis quae fuerunt quondam Floresiae Matris dictae Ilariae, et causae quam Petruccius de Sus natus dicti Americi senioris, quam similiter movere intendit contra dictum curatorem de bonis mobilibus quae fuerunt quondam Thomasiae de Sancto Giorgio relictae dicti Americi senioris matris eiusdem Petruccii, et committitur Nicolao de Joha I.C.P.' Reg. Ang. 1309 A, fol. 163, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1737.

Ilaria and her two sisters also had to seek protection of their rights to dowry from him.[40]

Ilaria de Sus

Ilaria was one of the greatest ladies of her day; described as *nobilis* (Document XII), *magnifica et egregia* (Document XI). She was married five times, twice to Latin nobles of the Regno, once to the offspring of a mixed marriage, once to the great-nephew of Pope Boniface VIII and, the first time, to a knight from France, Eustace of Hardicourt or Ardicourt, Captain of the troops sent to Achaia.[41] This first marriage must have been an ill-assorted match, for Ilaria can hardly have been much more than fourteen,[42] while Eustace had a son of the same name who before the death of Charles II had been married and died and left an heir.[43] He was lord of the barony of Reino, in the Principato, and Ferrazzano, in the Capitanata, and of other lands; in 1289 at Benevento he presented a clerk to the parish church of St. Barbara in his *castrum* of Reino (Documents III and IV). Eustace and Ilaria had no children. Ilaria's second marriage was of the same kind as her first, for by 24 June 1306 she was the wife of that Gentile di San Giorgio whose daughter Tomasa was her own stepmother.[44] Della Marra states that she bore him a son Thomas, who predeceased his father.[45] Some time after 1309 she was married to Philip de Joinville, Count of Sant'Angelo, by whom she had a son Nicholas, and who left her a widow for a third time before 8 December 1316.[46] On 14 January 1322 she was threatened with a penalty of one hundred ounces of gold if she did not send her son Nicholas de Joinville, still a minor, to join the Duke of Calabria.[47] In 1317 she married Benedict Caetani, *Comes Palatinus*,[48] whose grandfather Roffred had been named Count of Caserta in Rome in 1295, her brother being present and named among the witnesses.[49] Benedict had died in August 1322, leaving her pregnant, their offspring to inherit all his lands in the Regno; [50] but no child survived. By early in 1326 [51] she was married to Thomas of Aquino baron, and later Count, of Belcastro,[52] as the second of his three wives. She died after April 1334 [53] and before 1338,[54] the fact that two Friars Minor were executors of her will suggesting that she shared the royal family's devotion to the Orders of St. Francis and St. Clare.

---

[40] 'Ilariae de Sus uxori Gentilis de Sancto Giorgio militis Marescallae nostrae magistri consiliarii ac Joannae et Mariae sororibus dictae Ilariae filiis quondam Americi de Sus senioris militis, provisio contra bona quondam Americi de Sus iunioris fratris earum, ex successione paterna ad dandum eis dotem de paragio'. Reg. Ang. 1309 A, fol. 160v. 'Et alia provisio contra Guillelmum Raffardum militem curatorem ventris Francescae de Ceccano relictae dicti quondam Americi iunioris'. *Ibid.*, fol. 160. De Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1736.

[41] Durrieu, *op. cit.*, II. Della Marra *op. cit.*, p. 407, states that he was the son of Ermengan de Sabran, Count of Ariano, as does de Lellis, *Discorsi delle famiglie nobili*, I. 159.

[42] Her father's first marriage took place in 1275; his second, to Ilaria's mother, before 1280; she cannot have been born much before 1280. Eustace was apparently dead by 1292: among the feudataries of the Principato is 'heres Eustachii de Ardicourt', Reg. Ang. 1292 E, fol. 185v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', IV, i. 54.

[43] The following entry occurs in the list of feudataries of the Terra di Lavoro and County of Molise who held by grant from Charles I, Charles II, and the Count of Artois (probably compiled before 1306), in Reg. Ang. 1322 A, fol. 10v.: 'Heres domini Eustatii de Ardicurt tenet Loratinum et Rocca Rodobonis ex concessione Caroli Primi facta quondam Eustatio de Ardicurt avo suo'. De Lellis, 'Notamenta', IV, i. 197.

[44] Reg. Ang. 1306 I, fol. 69, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 940.

[45] Della Marra, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

[46] Gentile was still alive in 1309, see notes 39 and 40 above; Ilaria was the widow of Philip by 8 December 1316, see Document XI.

[47] R. Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, Florence 1921, 1930, I. 237–8.

[48] G. Caetani, *Documenti dell'Archivio Caetani*, *Domus Caietana*, I. i, Rome, 1927, p. 216.

[49] See note 36 above.

[50] G. Caetani, *Documenti dell'Archivio Caetani*, *Regesta Chartarum*, II, Rome, 1926, pp. 31–2.

[51] Reg. Ang. 1326 B, fol. 225, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 156. Litta (see next note) states that she was married to Thomas by 2 March 1326.

[52] P. Litta, *Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, New Series, II, 1908–13, fascicolo 35, 1908, Tavola xxvii.

[53] 'Ilaria de Sus Comitissa obiit', Reg. Ang. 1334–5 A, fol. 113v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1451.

[54] 'Fratribus Nicolao de Cervinaria Guardiano loci S. Francesci fratrum minorum de Neapoli et Leoni eius socio exequtoribus testamenti quondam Ilariae de Sus Comitissae Bellicastri pro pretio domus eiusdem Ilariae sitae in Platea Nidi emptae pro anniversario annuo pro animo ipsius quondam Ducissae' (Maria Duchess of Calabria who died in the autumn of 1331); Reg. Ang. 1338–9 D, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 626.

Peter de Sus

The affairs of the children of Amaury the elder's third marriage are less complicated than those of their brother and sister. Peter, who died in 1326, married Bartolomea Martuccia, grand-daughter of the famous lawyer and Protonotary, Bartholomew of Capua.[55] They had one daughter Tomasa, also called Tomasella, Masella, Ansella and, most commonly, Mansella. On her father's death her aunt Joanna and Thomas of Marzano, Count of Squillace, were appointed her guardians.[56] She married Thomas of Aquino, son of Berardo Count of Squillace and Maria de l'Estendart, and died childless in 1334.[57] Peter's sisters both married into Norman families, Maria to Berardo di Sangro and Joanna to John of Sanframondo. No more is heard of Maria, but Joanna and her son Thomas were allowed to take their pick in a division of the Sanframondo family lands in 1327–8.[58]

Maria and Joanna de Sus

De Sus lands

In the course of their eighty odd years in the Regno the de Sus family acquired, by royal grant and by marriage, a considerable number of lands. Of these, the feudal lands would be of two kinds; new fiefs, granted after 1266, in which primogeniture and the other conditions of Frankish law would be observed, and old fiefs, following the laws of succession already established in them, in which might be included the division of lands among heirs characteristic of Lombard law. The first Amaury was granted Trivento in the County of Molise;[59] this he resigned to the crown before 1283–4,[60] getting Boiano in exchange. He also held, acquired presumably by royal grant, Turris Maris in the Terra d'Otranto,[61] and the *casale* of Plesli de Calerno (?) in the Capitanata, which was held of him by three brothers who lived Lombard law.[62] Either he or his son Amaury leased whole or part of Pietrelcina in the Principato for twelve ounces yearly from Master Mark, its lord.[63] Of the lands which his wives brought him, Montefuscolo (in whole or in part) he acquired, either in right of his wife Jacopa on their marriage or by a grant from Charles I on the same occasion.[64] If he held it in his own right, by a royal grant, it would have been a new fief: otherwise it presumably retained its old nature. However acquired and held, in 1305, after Jacopa's death, he was in a position to grant to Montevergine four gold ounces to be paid annually from the tolls near Montefuscolo (Document IX). In 1299–1300 he held the *casale* of San Giuliano in the neighbourhood of Aversa in the right of his third wife Tomasa.[65] There is no extant record of his having any connection with the extensive lands of his second wife, Floresia.

---

[55] Reg. Ang. 1315 B, fol. 71, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', IV, i. 58. Martuccia was the daughter of Jacobus de Capua and Roberta di Gesualdo.

[56] Reg. Ang. 1326 B, fol. 218v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 155.

[57] Reg. Ang. 1328 D, fol. 44v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 214; Reg. Ang. 1334–5 E, fol. 40, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1501.

[58] 'Leonardo de S. Flaimundi militi Joannae de Sus relictae quondam Joannis de S. Flaimundi primogeniti eiusdem Leonardi et Thomasio eorumdem Joannae, et Joannis filio asserentibus quod dictus Leonardus habet Nicolaum, Filippum, et Petrum secundogenitos filios et possidet in Terra Laboris et Comitate Molisii Castra Guardiae San Fraimundi, Faieclae, Limatae, Cerreti, et Clusani, et velit dividere dicta feuda in duas partas unam assignandum dicto Thomasio et aliam predictis tribus filiis secundogenitis, quibus factis remaneat ad electionem eiusdem Tomasii et dictae Joannae eius matris pars quae sibi placuerit. Privilegium facultatis posse dividere dicta feuda ut supra. Die 18 Martii, II Indictione, 1328.' Reg. Ang. 1327–8 C, fol. 28, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 807–8.

[59] Fascicoli Ang., 6, fol. 111 (no date), in de Lellis, 'Notamenta ex Fascicolis', I, p. 8. I owe this reference from a volume of de Lellis which no longer exists to the kindness of Miss E. M. Jamison.

[60] *Atti Perduti*, I, ix, 139 (Reg. Ang. 1284 A, fol. 42).

[61] Reg. Ang. 1304–5 C, fol. 207v, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1824. I have been unable to identify this place.

[62] 'Roberto de Plesclo de Calerna, Goffrido, Guillelmo et Rogerio filiis quondam Riccardi de Pesclo militis Iure Longobardo viventibus assecuratio vassallorum Casalis Plesli de Calerno in Capitanata quod tenent ab Americo de Sus milite sub adoha tarenorum 15, et Casalis Petrae Mellariae exabitati in pertinentiis Castri Riccii sub Bartholomeo de Capua milite Logotheta et Protonotario domino dicti Castri sub adoha tarenorum 6, per obitum dicti eorum patris. Sub die 22 Martis XIV Ind. anno 1301'. Reg. Ang. 1300–1 B, fol. 228, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1651. I have been unable to identify this *casale*.

[63] 'Magistro Marco domino Petrae Policinae provisio contra Americum de Sus militem consiliarium qui debet ei annuo uncias 12 locatione dictae terrae', Reg. Ang. 1296 A, fol. 113v. in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1954.

[64] Della Marra, *op. cit.*, and Prignani, *loc. cit.*, are our authorities for this marriage, and state that she was the only child and heir of Guerriero lord of Montefuscolo; both cite Reg. Ang. 1275 A, fol. 62, and della Marra also cites Reg. Ang. 1308 E, fol. 6 and Reg. Ang. 1298–9 D, fol. 79.

According to Frankish law, all the lands which Amaury senior held in his own right, that is to say Boiano, Turris Maris, and San Giuliano, should have gone on his death to his eldest son, Amaury junior, who would also inherit Montefuscolo from either his father or his mother. Della Marra states that he held Montefuscolo, Boiano, Spennazzola, Macchia Saracena, and other places in the County of Molise, and San Giovanni Maggiore, Rotello, San Giuliano, and Atripalda in the Capitanata. He is our only authority for Amaury's possession of Spinazzola, Atripalda, and Boiano, and how he held Macchia Saracena is inexplicable until more detailed information comes to light: Ilaria held it as dower from Eustace later, as she also held San Giuliano as dowry from her father. We know that Amaury's son Philip held Montefuscolo; Rotello and part of San Giovanni Maggiore were held by Francesca di Ceccano, as her dower from Amaury, after his death. Della Marra also says that Isabella of Trezzarello brought him Ripacandida in the Basilicata, which returned to the crown when she died childless, and that Margherita di Gesualdo was lady of Pescopagano and Puzzano, the former in Basilicata, the latter perhaps in Calabria. Nearly as surprising as his possession of Macchia Saracena, is the fact that in 1295–6 he held Montelongo in the Capitanata.[66] This *castrum* formed part of the barony of Casalfano, which in 1315–16 Ilaria was holding by inheritance from her mother, Floresia de Stipite.[67] The succession in these de Stipite lands is puzzling, but leaving on one side for the moment everything except the question why Amaury was holding Montelongo, two explanations can be offered. Either he held it at that time in right of his wife, Isabella of Trezzarello, to whom it had come from her mother, and after her death without children (her brother John being also dead) it went to her half-sister Ilaria, or else we have another of Amaury's usurpations. As della Marra does not mention it, even as Isabella's dowry, the latter explanation is perhaps the more probable, and it may apply also to Macchia Saracena.

A rather puzzling note of De Lellis from Register 1316 E [68] seems to imply that at one time the younger Amaury was in possession of Reino in the Principato, but if this were so it is hard to see why it should ever have come to his half-brother Peter,[69] and later to this Peter's heirs.[70] The relationships in the entry are in any case wrong, and it is perhaps best explained as a mistake of the scribe, who confused the two Amaury's, both some time dead. In this case, and if it was the elder Amaury who held Reino, we must assume that he acquired, by royal grant, all the lands of his first son-in-law on the death of this son-in-law's heirs. From the list of feudataries in the Terra di Lavoro and County of Molise referred to above we know that after the deaths of the elder Eustace and of his son, also Eustace, Oratino and Rocca Rodoboni in the Terra di Lavoro were held by the latter's heir, while Ferrazzano was held by Catalina, widow of the younger Eustace, as her dower.[71] The omission of Reino proves nothing, as it is in the Principato, and might not be mentioned for this reason. Ilaria held the *castrum* of San Giovanni in Galdo in the Capitanata, and Macchia Saracena as dower from Eustace; [72] after her death it rejoined the rest of Eustace's old lands, all of which (Ferrazzano, Oratino, Rocca, Macchia Saracena, and Reino) were among those which reverted to the crown on the death of Peter's daughter Mansella, and were granted to Queen Sancia in 1335.[73] Shortly afterwards she sold Ferrazzano, Rocca, and Oratino to Philip of Lupara.[74] Whether on behalf of Amaury the elder or of Peter, there seems to have been some interference with the laws of succession by the crown in order to keep the lands in the family.

---

[65] Reg. Ang. 1299 B, fol. 165, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1620. She is called 'Tomasa De Sancto Severino'; Prignani points out that the San Giorgio family were a branch of the Sanseverino, so called from their possession of the castle of San Giorgio. Prignani MS., I, 13v.

[66] Reg. Ang. 1296 A, fol. 127v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1957.

[67] See note 92 below.

[68] Reg. Ang. 1316 E, fol. 96v.–97, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 358–9.

[69] 'A Petruccio de Sus pro relevio Baroniae Cariati et Casaboni in Calabria quas tenet ex successione quondam Domini Gentilis de Sancto Giorgio avi sui. Ab eodem Petruccio pro relevio Castri Regini in Principatu, quod fuit quondam Domini Americi de Sus patrui sui, quod recuperavit de manibus Joannis de Sanctofraimundo, quod detinebat in pignus sibi data a Domino Guillelmo Raffardo balio Filippucii de Sus patrui dicti Petrucii', Reg. Ang. 1316 E, fol. 51v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 344.

[70] Mansella held it in January 1328; Reg. Ang. 1328 D, fol. not given, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 106.

To return to the lands held by the elder branch of the Sus family. After his father's death Philip, son of Amaury the younger, held, at first in the person of his guardian and stepfather Nicholas della Marra, the *casale* of Turris Maris and two parts of a fief in Montefuscolo called *feudum domini Adiutoris et domini Thomasii de Montefuscolo*.[75] The other third part, together with Rotello and half San Giovanni Maggiore, were held until her death by his mother Francesca di Ceccano; [76] thereafter presumably Philip held the whole of them, as he did the fief in Montefuscolo.[77] He also held San Giuliano, Ilaria's dowry, which he redeemed from her with the money obtained by selling his lands in France.[78] What happened to Rotello and San Giovanni Maggiore after his death is uncertain; they were not among the lands, formerly his, which Lewis of Taranto granted to Montevergine in 1347.[79] If Amaury's daughter by his second marriage, Philippa, held any land as dowry, we do not know what it was.

We may now turn to the offspring of Amaury the elder's second marriage with Floresia de Stipite, Ilaria. We have already seen that she held San Giuliano as dowry from her father.[80] It would have been a little odd had he given this fief, which came to him from his third wife, to the daughter of his second on her marriage, and it therefore seems probable that it was only given to her when she was married a second time, to Gentile di San Giorgio, the father of her stepmother; in this way the lands would get a chance to return whence they came. In the course of her matrimonial career Ilaria acquired other dower lands: from Eustace, as we have seen, the *castrum* of Casale San Giovanni and Macchia Saracena; from Gentile, the *castrum* of Pianise and half the *castrum* of San Nicandro, together with Devia and half the *casale* of Bancia, these last three being in the Capitanata.[81] Peter, her half-brother and step-grandson, held the other half, unless they held it *pro indiviso*.[82] As we should expect, after Ilaria's death her half of San Nicandro and Bancia came to Peter, and then to his daughter Mansella, being among those lands granted to Queen Sancia on Mansella's death. We do not know what happened to Pianise. From Philip de Joinville Ilaria had Bagnoli in the Principato; [83] she also held for her son Nicholas de Joinville the *castra* of Cassano, Rocca Sant'Agata, Zungoli, Sant'Angelo de'Lombardi in the Principato, and Serra Capriola and the *casale* of Sant'Antonio de Pantoribus in the Capitanata.[84] It seems that Nicholas held only two-thirds of Serra, since in 1325–6 Erarda de Joinville, who held the third part, sought an inhibition against Ilaria molesting her in her possession.[85] It is remarkable to find two members of one of the new families, who must have lived Frankish law, holding a divided fief. Ilaria's fourth husband, Benedict Caetani, gave her as dower the *casali* of Ponte Albanito in the Capitanata, and Fragagnano in the Terra d'Otranto.[86] In his will he left her all his stable goods in Viterbo, together with some moveable goods, including a sword, which she afterwards sold.[87] She had some difficulties with her possessions in Viterbo after she was married to Thomas of Aquino, and her appeal to the royal court on this account is the last time we hear of her alive.[88] She had a house in the *Platea Nidi* at Naples.[89]

---

[71] 'Domina Catalina relicta quondam Eustatii Ardicurt tenet Ferraczanum pro dodario suo, quod castrum fuit concessum a quondam Carolo Primo domino Eustatio Ardicurt patri dicti viri sui annuo valore unciarum 4', Reg. Ang. 1322 A, fol. II, in de Lellis, IV, i, 197.

[72] See note 92 below.

[73] 'Reginae Sanciae concessio castrorum Ottaiani, Farrazzani, Loratini, Roccae de Rodobonis, Sancti Nicandri cum casali Bauciae, Maclae Strinatae, Casalis Ioannis, et castrum Regini devolutum per obitum Ansellae de Sus filiae quondam Petri de Sus', Reg. Ang. 1335 A, fol. 35, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 244.

[74] E. M. Jamison, 'Notes on Santa Maria della Strada at Matrice, its history and sculpture', *Papers of the British School at Rome*, XIV (New Series, vol. I), 1938, p. 49, note 93.

[75] Reg. Ang. 1316 E, fol. 121v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 367.

[76] Reg. Ang. 1322 C, fol. iv., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1005; and Reg. Ang. 1328, D, fol. 45, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 214.

[77] Reg. Ang. 1322 E, fol. 228 and 228v., and Reg. Ang. 1326 A, fol. 15 and 43v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 781 and 97.

[78] For the redemption see note 21 above; Reg. Ang. 1343 A, fol. 5, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 402.

[79] Della Marra, *op. cit.*, p. 409, citing Reg. Ang. 1326 B, fol. 205. In the Archivio de Santa Maria di Montevergine, vol. IX, 73, the lands of Philip de Sus which had escheated to the crown on his death without heirs are described in 1354 as follows: 'Casalia Cuciani Lentacii Fiscularii sive Fistaroli et Sancti Petri de Sala et certa alia tenementa cum vassallis et iuribus positis in Casalibus Sancti Naczarii Gamberese (gap) Castellono necnon certum tenimentum quod vulgariter vocatur Cervarola iuxta Casale Rocca [?]'. Cucciano, Lentace, Fustulani and Sannazaro are all in the neighbourhood of Montefuscolo; I have been unable to identify the last named *casale*.

In addition to the fiefs which she held as dowry and dower, Ilaria, who lived Frankish law, also held lands in her own right. Marsico Vetere in the Basilicata, of which Godfrey of Trezzarello was lord in right of his wife (here called Florissena) in 1270, she had sold before 1316–18 to Adenulfo of Aquino, who paid *adohamentum* for it in this year.[90]

---

[80] P. 176 above; and see note 92 below.

[81] See note 92 below. I have been unable to identify Pianise.

[82] 'Nobili Dominae Ilariae de Sus Comitissae S. Angeli possidenti medietatem Castri S. Nicandri in Capitanata pro indiviso cum Petro de Sus eius frater, provisio contra dictum eius fratrem destituentem eam dictae medietatae et committitur Iudici Riccardo Rufolo habitatori Neapoli consiliario', Reg. Ang. 1324 A, fol. 93v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1182.

[83] Reg. Ang. 1324 C, fol. 46, 200, 287; she was disputing with the *universitas* of Bagnoli. Cf. R. Caggese, *Roberto d'Angiò e i suoi tempi*, Florence, 1921, 1930, I 237–8. Della Marra says she also held Nusco as dower from Philip.

[84] See note 92 below. I have been unable to identify Sant'Antonio.

[85] Reg. Ang. 1326 B, fol. 222, 222v., 223, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 156.

[86] G. Caetani, *Documenti dell'Archivio Caetani*, *Domus Caietana*, I, i, Rome, 1927, p. 216; he cites Reg. Ang. 1322 F, fol. 194.

[87] G. Caetani, *op. cit.*, *Regesta Chartarum*, II, Rome, 1926, pp. 31–2.

[88] 'Nobili Dominae Ilariae de Sus Comitissae S. Angeli uxori domini Thomasii de Aquino camberlani familiaris exponenti quod quondam Dominus Benedictus Gaytanus Palatinus Comes anterior vir suus legavit sibi omnia sua stabilia sita in Civitate Viterbi, et confirmata a Domino Francesco Gaytano fratre dicti quondam Benedicti sed a multis molestatur. Hortatoria directa Communi Viterbii'. Reg. Ang. 1326 B, fol. 225, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 156.

[89] See note 54 above.

[90] 'Adenulfo de Aquino apodixa adohamenti soluti pro castro Castri Leonis quod tenet in Calabria sub servitio unius militis in feudum novum, pro castro Marsici Veteris empto per eum a Domina Ilaria de Sus Comitissa Sancti Angeli in feudum antiquum et pro annua provisione unciarum 10 quam tenet, super Dohanam Salerni', Reg. Ang. 1317 A, fol. 400, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', IV, i, 59.

Before coming to Godfrey it had belonged to Roger of Sanseverino Count of Marsica.[91] It was a *feudum antiquum*. By succession to her mother, Floresia de Stipite, she held in the Capitanata the barony of Pietra Catella, which included Castello Monteleone, Cantalupo and Porcarino, and the barony of Casalfano, comprising the *castra* of Casalfano, Ficarola or Sicarola, Bonefro, Montelongo, and the *casali* of Santa Croce, Civitella, and Casale Sant'Elia.[92] The most probable route by which these very considerable possessions came to her has already been discussed in connection with Montelongo: after the deaths of her mother's other heirs, John and Isabella of Trezzarello, all her mother's lands, from whatever source, came to her. There is some reason to think that her mother did not inherit them all from one person. When the Suabian part of the Catalogue of the Barons was compiled Actenulphus de Stipite held Bonefro, Conrad de Stipite Casalfano, Ficarola, and Sant'Elia; Gervase 'filius Maynerii' held Civitella and Montelongo, and Guy de Guasto held Pietracatella, Monteleone, and Portaram (Porcarino), while William de Pesclo held Pesclum and Cantalupo from him.[93] We have only two indications as to what happened between this moment with many lords and 1315, when Ilaria held all the lands: one, in 1277, when Bonefro was held by the brothers Thomas and Roger de Stipite,[94] and in 1293–4. In this year Adenulfo de Stipite complained that he was unable to get possession of Bonefro, Serra, and Civitella, which had been adjudged his by the acting Master Justiciar, because of the might of Floresia and her son John.[95] We do not know the relationship of Floresia and three of the de Stipite family, or the nature of the conflicting claims of Adenulfo and Floresia. The only conclusion that can be suggested is that, as Ilaria held all the lands unquestioned some time after the dispute of 1293–4, it is probable that Adenulfo, perhaps the last male member of the de Stipite family, died childless, and a succession through a good many grades brought all his lands, as well as some others, to Ilaria de Sus, either with or without the assistance of a royal grant.[96] Both the two baronies were old fiefs.[97] A peculiarity attaches to one of the constituent parts of the barony of Pietracatella, Cantalupo: this *castrum* was apparently held of the monastery of Santa Sofia at Benevento by the title of *locatio seu in emphiteosim*, for twenty-nine years. This came to an end in December 1316, when it returned to the possession of the monastery (Documents XI and XII). It was, nonetheless, included in the lands for which Ilaria paid *adohamentum* to the crown after this date.[98] These de Stipite lands were not among those which went to Ilaria's half-brother Peter, and it seems that they were inherited by the descendants of her son Nicholas de Joinville, Count of Sant'Angelo (who was killed in 1335).[99] Amelio de Jamvilla, who was the eldest son of Count John Nicholas and the grandson of our Nicholas, held, towards the end of the fourteenth century, some of the old de Stipite lands: Bonefro, Sant'Elia, Pietracatella, and Montelongo. The four younger brothers of Count John Nicholas may explain the absence of the others.[100]

---

[91] Filangieri, *I Registri*, III, 150; (18 Jan.–29 March 1270).

[92] From the list of feudataries in the Principato who paid *adohamentum* (instead of performing service in person) in the year 1321: 'Die 8 Julii a Domina Maria (sic) de Sus Comitissa S. Angeli pro se et pro Nicolao de Jamvilla filio suo Comite S. Angeli cuius est balia: pro Baronia Petrae Caselli, in qua sunt Castellum Monachi Leonis, Cantalupum, Castrum Porcariae; Baronia Casalfani in qua sunt Castrum Casalfani, Castrum Fitarolae, Castrum Venefri, Castrum Montis Longi, Casale S. Crucis, et Civitellae, Casale S. Eliae; quae dicta Comitissa tenet in Capitanata ex successione materna sub servitio unius militis et unius Beroherii et dimidii, ad rationem unciarum 6 tarenorum 15 pro servitio militari, et de unciis 6 tarenis 9 pro quolibet Borroherio. Item castrum Casalis Joannis, et casale Macclae Sarracenae quae ipsa Comitissa tenet in Capitanata pro dodario sibi constituto per quondam Eustasium de Aricurt primum virum suum; Castrum S. Iuliani datum sibi in dotem per quondam patrem suum in Capitanata; Castrum Planisii, medietas Castri S. Nicandri cum Devia, et alia medietas Casalis Bauciae, quas tenet pro dodario sibi constituto per quondam Dominum Gentilem de Sancto Giorgio, alium virum suum, in Capitanata. Castrum Cassani, Castrum Roccae S. Agatis, Castrum Zunculi, Castrum S. Angeli de Lombardis in Principatu, Casale S. Antonii de Pantonibus, et Serra Capriola in Capitanata, quae tenent pro parte dicti filii sui'. Reg. Ang. 1322 C, fol. 242v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1037–8. I have been unable to identify Ficarola, Casalfano, and Casale Sant'Elia.

[93] C. Borelli, *Vindex Neapolitanae Nobilitatis*, p. 151.

[94] E. Sthamer, 'Bruchstücke mittelalterliche Enqueten aus Unteritalien', Einzelausgabe aus den *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 2, Berlin, 1933, p. 95.

[95] 'Adenulfo de Stipite asserenti quod cum mota questione per quondam Floresiam uxorem Americi de Sus militis coram Berardo de S. Giorgio tunc Iustitiario Capitanatae, de Castro Venafri et casalibus S. Crucis et Civitellae, quae dictus Adenulfus tenebat, per dictum Iustitiarium lata fuit sententia ad favorem dictae Floresiae, cuius vigore inducta in possessionem dictorum castri et casalium, cognito subsequenter super processu et sententia quaedam per Lodovicum de Montibus militem locumtenentem Magistri Iustitiarii et iudices Magnae Curiae tenet assidentes eidem, quibus fuerunt presentati dicti Processus, et sententia, fuerunt sententialiter irritati, et mandatum quod restituatur ei possessio, sed per potentiam dictae mulieris, et Joannis Traczarelli (Trezzarello in margin) eius filii numquam potuit assequi possessionem eamdem provisio'. Reg. Ang. 1294 M, fol. 84, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1843.

Ilaria's brother Peter, as we have seen, acquired the lands which had belonged to her first husband; Ferrazzano and Reino, and probably also, since his daughter Mansella held them, Oratino and Rocca Rodoboni from the same source. He had to recover Reino from John of Sanframondo, his brother-in-law, who held it as a pledge from William Roffardo, guardian of his nephew Philip.[101] He also held, at first sight a little surprisingly, Cariati and Casabona in Calabria, as a barony; these were the lands which had been granted to Gentile and Ilaria in 1306, for their descendants.[102] In this case we know that the crown made a concession in 1309, investing him with the lands of his grandfather.[103] The barony was not included among the lands which were granted to Queen Sancia on the death of Mansella. Ottaiano in the Terra di Lavoro, on the other hand, which had been granted to Peter by King Robert whose Chamberlain he was,[104] did go to Queen Sancia. During his possession of it Peter subinfeudated a piece of demesne in a place called Silvamala, for '*adohamentum*' of three capons a year.[105] Nothing is known about the lands held by Peter's sister Maria, who married Berardo di Sangro. His other sister Joanna was given the *castrum* of Limata in the Terra di Lavoro and the *casale* of San Lorenzo, as dower by her husband John of Sanframondo.[106]

Montreuil lands

There is less room for speculation where the lands of Philip and Giles of Montreuil are concerned. Philip was granted the possessions of William of Palma on 28 March,

---

[96] On at least one occasion (when Gentile di San Giorgio and Ilaria intervened to settle a dispute between the heirs of a sub-feudatary of Pietra Catella), Ilaria, Lady of the barony of Pietra Catella, is called Ilaria de Stipite. Reg. Ang. 1306 I, fol. 69, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 940.

[97] In the list of feudataries who pay *adohamentum* Ilaria pays 'medietas adohamenti' for the two baronies 'quae tenet a Curia in feudum antiquum ex successione materna in Capitanata'. Reg. Ang. 1320 B, fol. 59, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1045.

[98] See note 92 above. Cantalupo (Cantalupo del Sannio today) is in the County of Molise; these documents speak of it as being in the Capitanata. It is possible that the transaction in 1316 concerns a Cantalupo in the Capitanata which cannot be identified today, but it may have been the case that, as the barony of Pietracatella of which Cantalupo was a part was in the Capitanata, for administrative purposes it was considered to belong to the neighbouring province.

[99] C. de Lellis, *Discorsi delle famiglie nobili del Regno di Napoli*, Parte Prima, Naples, 1654, p. 40.

[100] *Ibid.*, p. 42.

[101] Reg. Ang. 1316 E, fol. 51v., in de Lellis,' Notamenta', III, i. 344.

[102] Cariato and Casaboni, annual value 120 ounces, were granted on 20 June 1306 to the descendants of Gentile and Ilaria, Reg. Ang. 1306 I, fol. 73, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 941–2. In 1315–16 Petruccio paid the relief for the barony of Cariato and Casaboni 'quas tenet ex successione quondam Domini Gentilis de Sancto Giorgio avi sui', Reg. Ang. 1316 E, fol. 51v.

[103] Della Marra, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[104] Della Marra, *op. cit.*, p. 408; in Reg. Ang. 1320 B, fol. 165v., he pays *adohamentum* for the castrum of Ottaiano; he is called chamberlain in Reg. Ang. 1326 B, see next note.

[105] Reg. Ang. 1236 B, fol. 205, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 154.

[106] See note 68 above.

1269: the *castrum* of Palma in the Terra di Lavoro and houses and other goods in Naples, Aversa, Nola, and Candictium, and also what was formerly held by Marino Capece in or near Aversa.[107] This grant was confirmed on 29 May.[108] To Giles was granted in 1269, in exchange for a sum equivalent to sixteen ounces of Sicilian currency owing to his father in Anjou, the 'lands of Lady Sybil in Cairano', in the Principato, and some rents,[109] and in 1275 Sarcone in the Basilicata, annual value fifty ounces.[110] In the Inquisition into the newly granted lands in the Terra di Lavoro and County of Molise Giles was stated to possess goods in Aversa worth ten ounces a year and Palma, of which the value was given as seventy ounces.[111] After his death Palma was valued at one hundred ounces.[112] He held Boiano by 1296,[113] and in 1306 he exchanged Boiano and a fief in Cairano with his nephew Peter for other lands *in Regno Franciae*.[114] Giles apparently still held lands in France at the time of his death (Document X). In 1306, also, a privilege was granted confirming a licence given by Giles permitting Judge Peter of Boiano, later one of his executors, to build a mill on the River Biferno in his lands at Boiano.[115] His first wife Philippa brought him six hundred ounces as dowry from her brother Nicholas di Gesualdo (Document X); his second, Isabella, a dowry of eight hundred ounces, which included lands.[116] He granted her as dower or *terciaria* Sarcone, also Casoria and Candictium and other lands in Aversa.[117] When he was dead all these were given by the crown to Isabella's second husband John of Ceppoi, or Leppoi.[118] Before the final legacies to Montevergine in his second will Giles had already, in two grants made in 1297 (Document VI) and in 1301 (Document VIII), granted lands and services in and near Palma to Montevergine. The first grant was confirmed by the crown (Document VII). He restored a traitor's lands to his son in Giffoni in the Principato; we do not know of him having any other connection with this place.[119] All these lands, acquired by royal grant, were new fiefs, and should therefore, in the absence of a direct heir, revert to the crown. When Giles made his second will in 1306 in the hopes that his second wife Isabella might produce an heir, he made very detailed provisions about what was to happen to all his lands: those which had belonged to his father (and on which Isabella's dower was secured) were to come to their child, if there was one; Boiano was to go to Novellone de Salvilla if he did not leave an heir; if there should prove to be insufficient money to provide for all his many legacies, he instructed that the 'fief of Lady Sybil in Cairano' should be sold (Document X).

While it is not possible to derive any very startling conclusions from such a detailed survey as has been made above, certain observations may be made. First, the tendency, seen in the case of the de Sus succession, for lands to stay in the same family, even on occasions when it looks as if they should, by strict feudal law, have returned to the crown. This applies particularly to the lands of Eustace of Hardicourt and of Gentile di San Giorgio, which Peter de Sus afterwards held (see above, pp. 177–8 and p. 180). As the cases we have been considering may perhaps be regarded as exceptional, assuming that the Angevin kings still saw a distinction between the descendants of their followers and the native nobility in the early years of the fourteenth century, we cannot interpret this as what it would otherwise look like: an unwillingness on the part of the crown to have lands escheat and form part of the demesne. This had been already considerably diminished by the grants of Charles I.[120] In the case of the de Sus family this is the more remarkable, as the crown got so little military service out of it: Amaury senior was perhaps used rather as a diplomat than as a soldier; the same may be true of Amaury junior in his comparatively short life. Peter, again, was Chamberlain to King Robert, as was Philip also; thus the only active service any of the family performed (after the very early years) was that done by Philip and Peter in 1325. The family were in fact, like Giles of Montreuil, servants of the court rather than soldiers. With regard to the value of the lands held by these two families, both members of the higher nobility, it is notable that (though we do not know the actual nominal value of the Sus possessions) neither of them held the huge consolidated fiefs which those newcomers who survived a little longer possessed: the Del Balzo Counts of Avellino and Montescaglioso and the Sabrano Counts of Ariano. The lands granted by Charles I to his followers (we think of William the Conqueror) were scattered, like the lands of Amaury. It is also worth noticing the importance of women in the succession we have followed, in a country where the king had to legislate against excluding them from the succession to *feudalia*.[121] Notable too, are the provisions, including an order to sell, made by Giles in his second will; these were designed to determine the future of lands which, so far as we know, were feudal.

---

[107] Filangieri, *I Registri*, II, 192–3.

[108] *Ibid.*, 239–40.

[109] *Ibid.*, 240.

[110] *Atti Perduti*, I, ix, 394.

[111] Reg. Ang. 1322 A, fol. 3 and 4v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 189 and 191.

[112] Reg. Ang. 1326 B, it was among the lands granted to Santa Chiara on 6 June 1313, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 172.

[113] Reg. Ang. 1296 A, fol. 19, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1927.

[114] Reg. Ang. 1306 I, fol. 38, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 932.

[115] 'Iudici Petro Iudicis Joannis de Boiano auditori rationum Magnae Curiae et Archivii nostri Custodi assecuratio super concessione licentiae edificandi molendini et derivandi aquam fluminis Biferni per territorium dictae terrae Boiani ei factae ab Egidio de Mustarola milite Regni Siciliae Magistro Panetterio Domino dictae terrae Boiani', Reg. Ang. 1306 I, fol. 3v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 923.

[116] Reg. Ang. 1306 I, fol. 68, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 932.

[117] *Ibid.*

[118] Reg. Ang. 1334–5 E, fol. 17v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1496–7.

[119] 'Magistro Mattheo Greco de Gifono filio quondam Corradi Greci proditoris a tempore adventus Corradini cui fuerunt ablata bona sita in Gifono, et deinde restituta dicto Mattheo per Egidium de Mosterola primo, et subsequenter per Jacobum de Brussono milites dominos dicti castri, privilegium restitutionis ad famam et confirmatio dictorum bonorum restitutionum', Reg. Ang. 1299 B, fol. 221v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 1644–5.

The documents also provide us with information of a more general interest. In view of the known tendency of the nobility to congregate in Naples in the reign of Robert, among them perhaps Ilaria, in her house in the Piazza de Nido, it is interesting to see that both Amaury the elder and Giles, though officials of the court, had houses on their lands, Amaury at Venticanum (Document IX) and Giles at Candictium (Document X), where they spent part of their time. Eustace was in Benevento on at least one occasion, attending to the appointment of a clerk to the church on his lands near there (Documents III and IV). A detail of rather a different kind, the fact that Giles left *lectum unum apparatum* to Sant'Eligio in Naples, perhaps suggests that he stayed there when he was in Naples. In connection with the question of how far the newcomers became absorbed into the life of the Regno, the number of *gallici* of whom we hear in all their households is of interest. Both Amaury's chaplains, Nicholas and Robert (the same Robert who served Eustace?), are so described (Document IX). Among the witnesses to Giles' grant of 1297 to Montevergine was *dominus Guoffredus de Vernolio gallicus,* Godfrey of Verneuil, who was also a beneficiary of Giles' first will (Documents VI and X). The knight Henry of Formillier, who was among the witnesses to the second grant of 1301, was also almost certainly from France, as were two other beneficiaries of the first will: John of Toucy and Thomas de Villiers. A large number of those to whom he made legacies of varying value in his second will must have been of French origin, and many of them were probably connected with his household, if less intimately than John of Ledri, his barber, to whom he left two ounces. Of the eleven witnesses to this second will the knights Giurandus Foubers and Henry of Servillier were not native; William de Aczulin may fall into this category, as may also the priest James of Namaco and the executor Gilbert Salcanus. This will tells us a considerable amount about Giles' circle, his belongings, and his vast household, with knights, a chamberlain, and cook; as well as numerous servants, named and unnamed. We also learn that the material for the garments of all its members was bought from a merchant of Naples with the suggestive name of *Sarracenus de Africca.*

---

[120] The charge of diminishing the royal demesne by grants has been levelled against Charles by most historians of the conquest; for a recent exposition of it see E. G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples*, Paris, 1954, p. 81.

[121] 'Constitutio edita pro successione feudalium, qua sancitur si feudatarius decesserit absque filiis masculis, succedere debeant feminae, annullando antiquam consuetudinem cuius vigore si feudatarius moriebatur superstitibus tamen filiabus feminis, non succedebant filie, sed consanguinei quantumcumque remoti masculini sexus. Sub die 20 Maii, IX Indicitionis, 1326'. Reg. Ang. 1325–6 O, fol. 79v., in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. p. 54. See also R. Trifone, *La Legislazione Angioina*, (Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, Documenti per la Storia dell'Italia Meridionale, I) Naples, 1921, p. 216, cxxxx.

Although we should not too easily conclude that they were typical, three out of the four original arrivals show a marked devotion to religious houses, to which we owe the documents that we have concerning them. Giles de Sus gave all his goods to a monastery where he ended his days; Amaury the elder and Giles of Montreuil both founded chapels at Montevergine and made gifts to this house, near their lands. This Giles also made legacies to the new Angevin foundations in Naples, San Lorenzo, and Sant'Eligio, and to San Domenico in the same city (also patronised by Charles I), as well as to local churches in or near his lands in Italy. We learn from Giles' will that his father Philip, the fourth of our original adventurers, had left money for a knight to be sent to the Holy Land; evidence, perhaps, that at least one member of the army that set out under the Pope's banner had a true crusading intention.

Neither of the two families seems to have regretted leaving lands in France, nor even, so far as we know, to have revisited them. The only knight we meet who preferred to return is Giles of Montreuil's nephew Peter. Their lines came to an end in the Regno, not because they abandoned their new possessions but because they were afflicted by the same curse as the royal family: they did not produce enough male heirs. Presumably they did not dislike their new home; though in one respect at least Giles of Montreuil does not seem to have had a very high opinion of the capacities of the natives of his adopted land, and the reason why he wishes a chapel to be built in France after his death rather than in Italy explains all the Gothic vaults still to be seen in Naples today: *[quia] ibi melius et habilius co[n]strui potitur.*

Beside the imperial ambitions and international politics of the earlier, and greater, Angevins, the family concerns of Amaury and Giles are very small beer. Yet, in an age still largely feudal, the domestic affairs of the European nobility were the raw material with which the kings were forced to make history, and the documents here published give a few glimpses into the minds of those who set out when *colui dal maschio naso venne in Italia.*

S. F. BRIDGES

DOCUMENTS

I

1273, August, Indiction I. At the Monastery of Cava dei Tirreni.

Archivio della Badia di Cava dei Tirreni, LVI, 106.

In nomine, etc. In the presence of Leo,[122] Abbot of the monastery, and of the convent of Cava, and of the four witnesses from Salerno who sign at the end of the document, brother Raynonus monk and Prior of the said monastery hands over, on behalf of the Abbot and convent, certain lands and houses in Capaccio *in perpetuum* to *Egidius de Soves francigenus* and his heirs. The extent and boundaries of the lands are given. Giles and his heirs shall care for the land as is suitable, and shall pay to the monastery every year on Christmas Day three gold tarenes of the money of Sicily, less a quarter. *Pro qua videlicet tradicione et concessione idem Egidius eidem domino Abbati, pro parte suprascripti monasterii, fidelitatis et ligii homagii corporale prestitit juramentum, obligans se et suos ut dictus est descendentes eidem domino Abbati pro parte ipsius monasterii semper esse vassalus monasterii memorati, salvo in omnibus mandato et fidelitate suprascriptorum domini nostri Regis et domini nostri principis et heredum eorum. Verum si ipse Egidius et eius ut dictus est descendentes suprascriptam tradicionem et concessionem tenere noluerint vel non potuerint, tunc eam partibus suprascriptis monasterii remittant iuxta ratione, salvam faciendam quod voluerint, abstractis tamen prius et inde omnibus rebus suis faciendis similiter quod voluerint.* Giles binds himself and his heirs to observe the agreement on pain of one hundred Augustales. He recognises the authority of the judge and notary although they are not his own.

Jacobus Dardanus of Salerno, notary public, and four literate witnesses:

Stephanus Macza, judge of the city of Salerno
Thomasius de Sancto Maria, notary
Nicholaus de Dardano, notary
Jacobus de Bellomine, citizen of Salerno

II

1277, 5 April, Indiction V. At Capua.

Archivio della Badia di Cava dei Tirreni, LVII, 34. On the back, in the same hand as the text of the document, is a description of its contents which describes Maria as 'Gallica uxor Raonis gallici filia quondam Egidii de Sues'.

In nomine, etc. Johannes Iudicis Andree judge of the city of Capua, and *Criscius* public notary of the same city declare that *mulier nomine Maria Gallica filia quondam Hegidii de Suex Gallici habitator eiusdem civitatis Capuane ad nostram accedens presenciam et ad cautelam in nos tamquam in suos iudicem et notarium expresse consenciens cum voluntate et auctoritate Raonis viri sui sub cuius dominio et potestate se esse cognovit,* in presence of same and of undersigned witnesses *profexa est quod dictus quondam Egidius pater suus ingressus Cavense Monasterium eidem monasterio obtulit se et sua: postmodum vero processu temporis eandem Mariam mulierem filiam suam eidem Raoni uxorem tradidit, et in matrimonium allocavit, et contemplatione*

---

[122] B. Leo II, Abbot of Cava 1268–94.

ipsi matrimonii promisit ei nomine dotis uncias auri quadraginta, de quibus solvit eidem presencialiter uncias auri triginta tantum. When Giles was dead, Maria asked the Abbot for the remaining ten ounces, asserting that all her father's goods had come to the monastery and either the money or goods tacitly implied in the promise of dowry should be paid to her. The Abbot, on the other hand, asserted *quod cum idem Egidius ante dotacionem eiusdem filie sue monasterium Cavense fuisset ingressus et se et bona sua specialiter eidem monasterio obtulisset, de jure non poterat eamodo nec expresse, nec tacite, alicui obligare.* Although the matter had been disputed for some time, *dominus Abbas nolens sequi iuris rigorem set ad dandum aliis bonum exemplum de gratia et benignitate sua* ordered that Bartholomew, the prior of the church of the Holy Trinity at Capua which is under the monastery of Cava, should pay the said ten ounces to Maria, and receive full security from her that it had been paid. Accordingly, in the presence of the above mentioned, Bartholomew paid the ten ounces to Maria on behalf of the said monastery, and she *cum auctoritate consensu et voluntate predicti Raonis viri sui remisit eidem dompno Bartholomeo pro parte dicti monasterii Cavensis omnem litem et questionem quam contra ipsum monasterium de rebus mobilibus et se moventibus que fuerunt quondam dicti Egidii patris sui vel occasione ipsarum rerum posset intendere vel movere*, promising to observe this remission on pain of a payment of twenty ounces. With the authority of her husband she swore on the gospels to *Nicolao cognominato Riccio de Cava familiari eiusdem monasterii pro eiusdem monasterio parte*, to observe all that had been decided, and this public instrument was made *ad cautelam* of said monastery.

Witnesses who sign: *Petrus Sartarius*, judge
Johannes? de Archipresbitero, notary
Doramus Raynaldus
Johannes Misildinus, notary

III

1289, 16 November, Indiction III. At Benevento.

Eustace of Hardicourt, knight, and lord of the barony of Reino and Ferrazzano, who claims to be patron of the parish church of St. Barbara in the *castrum* of Reino, presents John de Ripa clerk and *familiaris* of the Archbishop of Benevento, to the said parish church.

Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, vol. 273 (collection of the notary Laurence of Giroldo), document cxx, p. 165. The collection is apparently to some extent a formulary; this, coupled with the gaps and the fact that the document breaks off short, make its authority not unquestionable.

Die mercurii sextodecimo mensis Novembris tercie Indictionis. Nos Jacobus Malanocte Beneventi Iudex, Laurentius de Giroldo publicus eiusdem Civitatis notarius, Barbatus Gualterii Archipresbyter maioris beneventane Ecclesie, Pandulfus dictus Bo[ ][a] Neapolitanus, frater Guillelmus de Cast[ro][b] Celi monachus Cassinensis,[123] Johannes dictus de Cappella clericus et Nicolaus dictus caballerius laycus familiares Reverendi patris et domini, domini Johannis Venerabilis beneventani Archiepiscopi,[124] Robbertus de Masculo miles, Andreas Gualterii et magister Rogerius

---

[a] Gap. [b] Hole.

[123] Presumably a relation of the Archbishop of Benevento.

[124] John, Bishop of Benevento 1282–95, created Cardinal of San Vitale by Celestine V in September 1294, was John of Castro Celi, monk of Cassino.

de Regino corviserius cives Beneventi (in margin—et magister Martinus de Motuo Lombardus) testes ad hoc specialiter vocati et rogati, presento scripto publico notumfacimus et testamus, quod aput Beneventum in ipsius domini Archiepiscopi et Venerabilis patris domini [Benedicti][a] Episcopi Avellinen.[125] et nostrum presentia constitutus nobilis et egregius vir dominus Heustasius de Ardycorth[126] miles dominus Baronie Regini et Faraczani,[127] qui se dicebat patronum parochyalis Ecclesie Sancte Barbare site in Castro Regini et pertinentiis eius Benev. dyocesis, vacanti ad presens per [ ][a] olim Rectoris ipsius, ac per se et predecessores suos esse in possessione vel quasi iuris patronatus et presentandi Rectorem ad regimen ipsius ecclesie quociens eam Rectore vacare contingit. Coram nobis providum virum dominum Johannem de Ripa clericum et familiarem ipsius domini Archiepiscopi, ad regimen ipsius ecclesie Sancte Barbare ipsi domino Archipiscopo presentavit, petens actence ipsam suam presentationem admitti, et eumdem presentatum ad dictam suam presentationem in Rectorem institui ecclesie supradicte. Qui dominus Archiepiscopus . . .

IV

1289, 16 November, Indiction III. At Benevento.

Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare, vol. 273, document cxxi, p. 165 v. See note to Document III.

On the same day and in the presence of the same judge and notary [as in Document III], *Laurentius de Giroldo* and *Jacobus de Malanocte*, and of the following witnesses: *Barbatus Gualterii Archipresbyter maioris beneventane Ecclesie, Andrea Archipresbyter ecclesiarum Regini, Pandulfus dictus Bo*[ ][a] *Neapolitanus, Presbyter Robbertus Gallicus cappellanus et familiaris nobilis et egregii viri domini Heustasii de Ardicurth domini Baronie Regini et Faraczani, Robbertus de Masculo miles, Andrea Gualterii et magister Rogerius de Regino corviserius cives Beneventi, et magister Martinus de Motuo Lombardus cives Beneventi. Providus vir Johannes de Ripa clericus et familiaris Reverendi patris et domini domini Johannis venerabilis beneventani Archiepiscopi, Rector parochialis ecclesie Sancte Barbare site in Castro Regini et pertinentiis eius, actendens grata et fructuosa servitia que se et dictam ecclesiam Sancte Barbare regimini suo commissam a providis viris Michaele decano Acerontis*[128] *et Mathya Gualterii clerico beneventano recepisse cognovit et confexus est firmiter coram nobis, et sperabat ab eis utiliora et maiora Deo auspice recipere in futurum, ac volens eidem Mathie ob ipsorum domini Archiepiscopi et Archipresbyteri beneventanorum et dicto Mycchaeli decano, ob ipsius domini Heustasii reverenciam facere gratiam specialem, bona et gratuita sua voluntate inter vivos donationis titulo dedit et concessit atque tradidit dicto presenti Robberto Gallico recipienti ad partem et vicem dicti Michaelis decani Acerontis inde absentis, totam et integram unam tertiam partem, et dicto Archipresbytero beneventano, recipienti ad partem et vicem dictorum Mathie similiter inde absentis, totam et integram aliam unam tertiam partem omnium fructuum, oblacionum, redditum et proventium annuatim proveniencium ex dicta Ecclesia Sancte Barbare ac omnibus iuribus possessionibus et pertinentiis eius, vita ipsius Johannis rectoris*

---

[a] Gap

[125] Benedict, Bishop of Bisaccia, was translated to Avellino by Nicholas IV on 20 April 1288. He died in 1294.

[126] See above, n. 41.

[127] We do not know when he was granted these lands; Ferrazzano had been granted to Guillaume de Gigny on 6 March 1270, its annual value being thirty ounces. Filangieri, *I Registri*, II, 244.

[128] Either Acerra (Acerranenses) or Acerenza (Acheruntini).

eiusdem, and the said Rector *investivit per fustem* the said Archipresbyter of Benevento in the name of the said Matthew, and the said priest Robert in the name of the said dean, for the said third parts, and *in corporalem possessionem induxit,* on the condition that Matthew and the dean contribute to all expenses of the church which may occur in the same proportion as they share in its profits.

V

1296, 13 February, Indiction IX. At Naples, in the room of the Papal Legate.

Archivio Storico Provinciale, Benevento, Pergamene di Santa Sofia, vol. x, n. 28.

In Dei nomine amen. Record of an agreement made between *Jacquintus* Abbot of the monastery of Santa Sofia at Benevento on behalf of the said monastery on the one hand, *et nobilis vir Americus de Sus miles senior nomine Americi junioris filii sui et eius uxoris ex altera, super omnibus litibus, controversiis seu questionibus que existuntur seu verti sperantur inter eosdem Abbatem et dominum Americum juniorem nomine sue uxoris occasione cuiusdam territorii siti infra fines castri Tori quod ad dictum monasterium dicitur pertinere et infra fines casalis Sancte Marie in Ranula Beneventani diocesis, et super eodem territorio ac generaliter super omnibus et singulis questionibus litibus controversiis et discordiis que inter dictas partes sunt vel esse possunt quocunque modo vel ex quacunque causa.* Both parties agree to abide by the decision of Landulf Brancaccio, Cardinal of Sant'Angelo and Legate of the Holy See,[129] on the pain of a fine of fifty ounces, half to be paid to the *curia* and half to the injured party. The agreement was made at Naples in the room of the Papal Legate and this public instrument drawn up by *Johannes de Cusencia sacrosancte Romane Ecclesie publicus auctoritate notarius,* in the presence of *dominus Ticius archipresbiter de Colle, domini Pape capellanus, Magister Christoforus canonicus Thelesim, dominus Guilielmus Alamannus miles, dominus Johannes de Ursone Iuris Civilis profexor, Magister Pandulfus Guindacius de Neapoli, dominus Andreas Acconzaiocus Iuris Civilis profexor,* and also of brother *Henricus Abbas monasterii Sancte Marie Montisviridis.*[130]

VI

1297, 15 November, Indiction X. At Palma.

Archivio di Santa Maria di Montevergine, vol. xcviii, n. 2.

In nomine, etc. Nos Egidius de Monstrarola miles dominus Palme et Terre Boiani wishing to help the needy, and having chosen for this purpose the monastery of Montevergine in the diocese of Avellino, make over to it some goods for the maintenance of the poor. Therefore in the presence of the witnesses named below *pro salute anime nostre et progenitorum nostrorum infrascriptas terras et possessiones nostras cum iuribus et pertinentiis earumdem francas et liberas et ab omni prorsus onere servitutis exemptas, iam dicto Monasterio pro elemosia in*

---

[129] Landulf Brancaccio, created Cardinal deacon of Sant'Angelo by Celestine V in September 1294, sent as legate to Apulia and later to England.

[130] Santa Maria de Monteverde, a Benedictine house in the County of Molise.

perpetuum donamus et donando concedimus nichil nobis in eis vel nostris successoribus reservantes. He and his heirs (it goes on), will defend its possession on pain of fifty gold ounces. The four pieces of land granted are named: one in the neighbourhood of Palma in the place called *Starcia clusa,* one where it is called *ad Agellum,* one where it is called *ad Archi* and one where it is called *Gurgonaldum;* the boundaries of all four are given.

This public instrument written by *Jordanus de Milo* notary public of Nola and Palma, *sigillo pendente prefati domini Egidii,* and signed by three witnesses:

Rao terre Palme Iudex
dopnus Manuel de Palma
Iudex Rogerius

Four who cannot write make the sign of the cross:

dominus Guoffredus de Vernolio gallicus
Rogerius Summensis
Johannes de Lebor.
Gratianus Barbutus de Palma.

There is no seal attached today.

VII

1299, 25 June, Indiction XII. At Naples.

Archivio di Santa Maria di Montevergine, vol. xcviii, n. 3.

Royal letter of Charles II confirming the grant to Montevergine made by *Egidius de Mustarola miles dilectus familiaris et fidelis noster, dummodo feudale servitium per eundem Egidium pro predicto castro suo Palme Curie debitum nullatenus miniatur.* The lands are detailed, being those mentioned in Giles' grant of 15 November 1297 (see Document VI above). By Bartholomew of Capua.

VIII

1301, 15 April, Indiction XIV. At Palma.

Archivio di Santa Maria di Montevergine, vol. xcviii, n. 4.

In nomine, etc. Nos Egidius de Mustarola miles dominus Terre Palme wishing to help the needy, etc. (as in Document VI) *pro salute anime mee et progenitorum meorum et ut divina officia in cappella constructa per nos in dicto monasterio celebrentur, infrascriptas terras et possessiones nostras cum iuribus et pertinentiis eorumdem, francas et liberas ab omni prorsus honere servitutis exemptas, nec non et infrascripta iura dominii et proprietatis quod vel que habemus in subscriptis terris quas subscripti homines tenent a nobis ad pastinandum et subscriptos census pannuarii et gallinarum annuatim nobis dare et reddere tenentur, iam dicto monasterio pro elemosina in perpetuum donamus et donando concedimus nichil nobis in eis vel nostris successoribus reservamus*

habendum, and its possession will be protected on pain of twenty ounces. The boundaries of the lands and details of the services comprised in the grant follow, with the names of the men who perform them. All appear to be in or near Palma.

This public instrument written by *Jordannus de Milo* notary public of Nola, Cicala and Palma, and signed by three witnesses:

Tadeus de Jordano Palme Iudex
dopnus Manuel de Palma
Guillelmus de Jordano

Four who cannot write make the sign of the cross:

dominus Herricus de Formillerio miles
Thomasius Pontararius
Adenulfus de Rogerio
Leonardus de Raffo de Palma.

IX

1305, 13 March, Indiction IV. At Venticanum,[131] *in the house of Amaury de Sus.*

Archivio di Santa Maria di Montevergine, vol. viii, n. 115. A seventeenth-century copy.

In nomine, etc. In the presence of Jacobus Sparanus judge of Montefuscolo, Peter, notary public of Montefuscolo and Venticanum, and of the following witnesses, *dominus Robertus et dominus Nicolaus gallici cappellani domini Americi de Sus, Iudex Andreas de Mutala magister terrarum et hospitii ipsius domini, et domnus Petrus de Venticano*, who testify through the present public instrument made *apud locum Venticani in domibus magnifici viri dominius Americius de Sus dominius eiusdem loci.* The said Amaury considering the condition of human nature and wishing to lay up treasure in heaven, for the remission of his sins and those of his ancestors, hands over to the monastery of Montevergine and *in manibus videlicet religiosi viri domini Santori monachi eiusdem monasterii, et prioris obedientia Sancti Ioannis de Marcopio libere recipientis ad partem, et vicem venerabilis et religiosi viri domini Guillelmi Dei gratia eiusdem monasterii Abbatis, et monasterii antedicti, pro quadam cappella, quam idem dominus Americus habet in dicto monasterio, in qua elegit sibi et suis successoribus ecclesiasticam sepulturam, uncias auri quatuor ponderis generalis solvendas anno quolibet priori eiusdem monasterii in festo Sancte Marie de mense Martii, de pecunio passaggii et super passaggium de plateariis situ prope Montemfusculum, quod passaggium idem dominus Americus tenet a Regia maiestate, sic quod predicte quatuor uncie auri sive ius percipiendi ipsius quatuor uncias auri scilicet ut predictus in predicto festo sint in dominio et potestate supradicti domini Abbatis et memorati monasterii.* He gives them full powers over the tolls, and invests the Abbot and monastery, in the person of the said Santorus. Amaury binds himself and his heirs to ensure that this grant shall always hold good, and for greater security judge Andrew of Mutala takes oath on the Bible on behalf of the said Amaury. The witnesses sign, except *domnus Petrus*, who makes the sign of the cross.

---

[131] I have been unable to identify this place near Montefuscolo.

X

1306, 24 April, Indiction IV. At Candictium.

Giles of Montreuil, *Magister Panicterius* of the kingdom of Sicily, makes his (second) will. In the will made at Naples on the 20 December 1294 he instituted as heir in all his goods except those otherwise mentioned Peter de Soisy (*Petrus de Sessiaco*), son of his late sister Ytarcia; this arrangement is not to stand if, at the time of his death, he leaves a son or daughter or pregnant wife. Other legacies in the first will are also cancelled. Numerous new bequests are detailed: he leaves twenty ounces for building his tomb in his chapel in Montevergine, and for painting his tomb and that of his late wife Philippa di Gesualdo, there buried; to members of his household and others he leaves money, armour, and other personal belongings; to the King, a sword; to seven churches in Naples and on or near his lands, sums of money; to the forty ounces left by his father for sending a knight to the Holy Land he adds another forty, the knight to be chosen by the Abbot of St. Maur-des-Fossés and Peter de Soisy, to whom is also committed the building of a chapel *in sedilibus suis* in France. To his wife Isabella are left various *mobilia*, and provision is made for her dower. He also provides for the execution of the will of his first wife Philippa, and names the piece of land, a fief in Cairano, Aversa, and S. Vitaliano called *pheudum domine Sibilie*, which is to be sold if the money he leaves is insufficient for all the legacies. As executors he appoints Bartholomew of Capua, Logothete and Protonotary, Novellone de Salvilla (who is to have Boiano if he die childless, and to be *ballius* if he leaves a minor), Gilbert Salcanus, William Caprinus, and judge Peter of Boiano. Eleven signatures are appended.

Archivio di Santa Maria di Montevergine, vol. lxxv, n. 244. Parchment, 51 cm. × 79 cm. There are some holes near the left-hand edge and a crease 4 cm. from the left-hand side. On the back is written (*a*) in the same hand: Testamentum nobilis domini domini Egidii de Mustarola (*b*) in a later hand: Testamentum quondam domini Egidius Mustarolas in quo legavit monasterio montis Virginis quod per suos executores emeretur terra una quod reddat annuatim dicto monasterio ducatos novem(?). Sub anno domini MCCCVI.

In nomine Domini nostri Iesu Christi. Anno ab incarnacione Eius millesimo tricentesimo sexto, regnante domino nostro Karulo Secundo Dei gratia magnifico Rege Ierusalem et Sicilie Ducatus Apulie et Principatus Capue Provincie et Fulchalquerii ac Pedimontis Comite, regnorum eius Ierusalem et Sicilie anno vicesimo secundo feliciter amen. Die dominico vicesimo quarto mensis Aprilis quarte indictionis aput Candictium.[132] Nos Sergius Perarius civitatis Nole et Cicale iudex, Deuchiludedus Perarius puplicus eiusdem terre notarius et testes subscripti litterati ad hoc specialiter vocati et rogati, presenti scripto puplico notumfacimus et testamus quod costitutis nobis in presencia nobilis et egregii viri domini Egidii de Mustarola militis regni Sicilie Magistri Panicterii,[133] sane mentis recteque locutionis existentis et vigentis plena corporis sospitate, quia ipse dominus Egidius premeditavit et premeditat humane fragilitatis condictionem et causas fortuitas que possent mortalibus evenire, ut anime sue suisque posteris cautius provideret et nulla post eius obitum posset aliquatenus dubitacio exoriri, volens testatus decedere suum condidit testamentum in hunc modum. Quia testamenti caput est institutio heredis, quia ipse dominus Egidius nullum habet filium seu filiam nec aliquam de descendentibus, sibi heredem instituit in omnibus bonis suis exceptis infrascriptis legatis, ordinacione et mandatis predicti domini Egidii, nobilem virum dominum

---

[132] This place name occurs in various forms: Cannicii, de Lellis, 'Notamenta', III, i. 932, from Reg. Ang. 1306 I, fol. 138; Caudicii, ibid., 1496, from Reg. Ang. 1334–5 E, fol. 17v., and Canditi, from the same Register in 'Notamenta', IV part ii; Filangieri, *I Registri*, II. 192–3 has Candicta, but queries this reading. The *feudum unum quaternatum in pertinentiis Cicale, Casale Caudam*, was not identified by E. Sthamer, 'Bruchstücke mittelalterlicher Enqueten aus Unteritalien', Einzelausgabe aus den *Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, Phil.-hist. Kl. 2, Berlin, 1933, p. 39, note 2.

[133] See above, p. 171, note 14, for a discussion of this office.

Petrum de Sessiaco [134] nepotem suum filium quondam domine Ytarcie sororis sue, quem dominum Petrum in testamento olim per eumdem dominum Egidium facto apud Neapoli de mense decembris vicesimo eiusdem octave indictionis anno dominice incarnationis millesimo ducentesimo nonagesimo quarto heredem instituit prout ipse dominus Egidius confexus est coram nobis, cuius domini Petri institutionem in predicto testamento olim condito per eumdem, ut dictum est in presento testamento, ipse dominus Egidius sic voluit effectum habere si tempore sue mortis prefatus dominus Egidius nullum relinqueret filium seu filiam seu uxorem pregnantem, quod si mortis sue tempore filium seu filiam seu uxorem pregnantem ipse relinqueret, voluit et mandavit predictus dominus Egidius ut dicta institucio heredis de predicto domino Petro nullam habet roboris formitatem, ita quod pro non facto habeatur. Set voluit et mandavit quod ipsius domini Petri heredis institucio cassata, rupta et vacua habita, dictus filius vel filia postumus seu ventura sint sui heredes in omnibus bonis suis, quem filium seu filiam vel postumum ex nunc in presenti testamento heredis instituit in omnibus bonis suis. Et quia in iam dicto testamento olim condito per eumdem dominum Egidium infrascriptis personis videlicet quondam domino Gofrido de Vernelio,[135] Johanni de Totciaco,[136] Thomasio de Villeriis,[137] heredibus Ragalini de Cauda, Simoni de Ruzeriis, Gerardo Guillelmo Falconerio filiis Thomasii Barberii, Gebarde, Follie Gerrerando, Johanni de Archadia, Perottino, Guarino, presbitero Guillelmo olim cappellano suo, domino Lancellotto de Sancto Marco quedam legata seu fidei commissa reliquit, ut in predicto testamento plenius continetur. Quia noluit ipse dominus Egidius prefatos legatarios et fidei commissarios ipsa legata seu fidei commissa habere, propterea ipse dominus Egidius bone sue voluntatis a prefatis legatariis superius nominatis adherrat legata predicta, volens ipse dominus Egidius ut pro non scriptis et relictis ipsa legata seu fidei commissa haberentur. Insuper prefatus dominus Egidius voluit et mandavit quod pro male ablatis dentur et solvantur per infrascriptos executores et distributores uncie centum illis personis a quibus apparebit ipsum dominum Egidium aliqua iniuste habuisse, quod si apparere non potitur ipsi executores et distributores secundum provisionem [et][a] ordinacionem eorum distribuant inter pauperes et loca religiosa huius regni, et prout eis melius videbitur pro anima ipsius militis expedire. Voluit etiam et mandavit ut pro sepulcro suo construendo in cappella sua monasterii Montis Virginis et pro depi[nge][a] ndo sepulcro ipso et cappella ipsa ac sepulcro quondam nobilis mulieris domine Philippe de Gisualdo consortis sue,[138] dentur uncie viginti. Item pro cera pro faciendis luminariis in funerario suo, uncie duodecim. Item legavit domino Regi ensem suum, Tassino uncias quattuor et equum unum valorem sex unciarum, eidem Taxino annuum redditum librarum duodecim super quinta bonorum suorum que ipse dominus Egidius habet in Francia propter grata servicia que idem dominus Egidius asseruit se recepisse a patre dicti Tassini, quod legatum duodecim librarum voluit idem miles dictum Taxinum habere si idem dominus Egidius tempore mortis sue nullum relinquet filium seu filiam aut uxorem suam pregnantem.[139] Item legavit Johanni de Aspramonte equum unum valorem quattuor unciarum, Manesserio uncias tres, Odonetto coco uncias tres. Item Ancelletto de Lupinetto [140] uncias decem et equum unum valorem octo unciarum, eidem Ancellotto super quinta bonorum suorum que habet in Francia libros sexdecim annuatim, si ipse dominus Egidius tempore mortis sue non relinqueret filium seu filiam aut uxorem pregnantem. Item domino Lancellotto de Sancto Marco legat ac relinquit totum residuum dicte quinte bonorum suorum si ipse dominus Egidius tempore sue mortis nullum habuerit filium seu filiam vel relinqueret consortem suam pregnantem, quia si tempore mortis sue apparuerit filius seu filia, seu consors ipsius domini Egidii pregnans apparuerit, voluit et mandavit idem miles quod predictus dominus Lancellottus de Sancto Marco, Tassinus et Ancellottus nichil habeant de dicta quinta, set tota ipsa quinta perveniat ad dictum filium filiam seu postumum ipsius domini Egidii. Item legavit Margarite mulieri relicte quondam Guillelmi de Foresta [141] uncias quattuor, notario Nicolao de Nola uncias quattuor, Rogerio de Andria si invenietur morari in serviciis ipsius domini Egidii tempore mortis sue uncias duas, domino Herrico de Servilleriis [142] equum unum valorem unciarum tres, si tempore mortis ipsius domini Egidii invenietur morari in serviciis dicti domini Egidii. Item ecclesie Sancte Marie de Pode Palme pro emenda terra uncias duas, maiori ecclesie nolane tarenos quindecim, fratribus minoribus Nole pro edificando ecclesie tarenos quindecim, ecclesie fratrum minorum Sancti Laurencii de Neapoli tarenos quindecim, ecclesie Sancti Dominici fratrum predicatorum de Neapoli tarenos quindecim, ecclesie Sancti Eligii de Neapoli tarenos quindecim et lectum unum apparatum. Item ecclesie in qua corpus domini Egidii sepeleretur uncias quattuor, ecclesie Sancte Marie Maian. de Palma pro reparacione ipsius ecclesie tarenos quindecim. Item Johanni de Rocca unciam unam, Guillelmo de Bergi [143] Castellano Palme equum unum valorem quattuor unciarum, Perrino [144] filio dicti Guillelmi uncias duas, Galotto uncias duas et armaturas quas habet, Johanni de Ledri barberio suo uncias duas, Guillotto camerario suo unciam unam, robbam unam de melioribus, Petro de Clari [145] uncias duas et armaturas suas, Gualterio Falconerio uncias duas, Andree maniscalco de Aversa uncias tres, Gualterio Mailioterio tarenos quindecim, Johanni Forrierio tarenos quindecim, Johanni fratri ipsius Johannis Forrierii tarenos quindecim, Desperato tarenos quindecim, Philippello tarenos quindecim, Fratri Paulo de Casoria unam de robbis suis, Thomasio de Parisio robbam unam de robbis suis, Matteo de Gelardo unciam unam, Lorino tarenos quindecim, domino Guillelmo Grappino ensem suum munitum argento, domino Novellono [146] equum unum et ensem suum deparesius. Et quia quondam dominus Philippus pater ipsius domini Egidii legaverat pro uno milite eligendo per ipsum ut dixit mittendum in subsidium Terre Sancte uncias quatraginta, voluit prefatus dominus Egidius ut ipse quatraginta uncie et quatraginta alie dentur uno militi mittendo in subsidium Terre Sancte quis miles nominetur et eligatur per religiosum virum Fratrem Johannem de Braya Abbatem Sancti Mauri de Fossatis [147] et dictum dominum Petrum de Sassiaco, et si non nominatur et eligeretur per ipsos voluit et mandavit quod eligatur per subscriptos executores testamenti sui, que uncie legate pro ipso militi dentur et solvantur de bonis que idem dominus Egidius habet in Francia. Item voluit et mandavit [quod][a] costruatur una cappella in sedilibus suis que sunt in Francia,[148] ubi melius et habilius costrui potitur, et hoc relinquatur arbitrio et provisioni dicti Abbatis de Fossatis vel dicti domini Petri de Sassiaco et quod in constructione dicte cappelle erogentur uncie octuaginta super bonis su[i]s [a] que habet in Francia, et si iam dicta cappella esset incomputa, voluit et mandavit quod perficiatur in totum. Item voluit quod ematur tanta terra per subscriptos executores quod annuos redditus ipsius terre ascendat ad summum unius uncie et tarenorum quindecim per annum et terra ipsa detur et ass[ig][a]netur per ipsos executores monasterio Montis Virginis. Item voluit dictus dominus Egidius ut si tempore mortis sue non superstititur filius seu filia ex eo nec relinqueret consortem suam pregnantem quod vir nobilis Novellonus de Salvilla habeat terram suam Boiani cum hominibus iuribus et pertinentibus omnibus, si vero apparuerit filius seu filia ex ipso domino Egidio seu relinquerit dictam consortem suam pregnantem, voluit quod dictus dominus Novellonus careat dicto legato ipsius terre Boiani, et terra ipsa perveniat ad dictum filium seu filiam vel postumum suum. Item voluit et mandavit quod nobilis mulier domina Ysabella [149] consors sua habeat omnes robbas et iocalia que sunt de corpore suo, lectum unum paratum, pallafredum quem equitat, mulos duos, cuppam unam de argento in auratis cum coperculo, sturellas de argento octo et urteos de argento duos, que urtei, cuppa [cum [a]c] operculo et sturelle octo sunt ut asseruit penes ipsam consortem suam. Item voluit quod quilibet scaceriorum qui invenientur in servicio tempore mortis sue et non sunt in presenti testamento nominati, habeant unciam unam et [quod][a] uncie octo distribuantur inter alios familiares suos, de quibus nulla est facta mencio in testamento. Item confexus est et recognovit quod tempore contracti matrimonii inter ipsum ex parte una et dictam dominam Ysabellam consortem suam exaltera, constituit eidem consorti sue terciariam seu dot[arium supe][a]r omnibus bonis suis, pro quibus terciariam et dotarium dedit sibi terra Sarconi sitam in Iusticariatu Basilicate, pheudum Casale Candicte situm in Cicala et pertinentiis suis, integrum prout fuit ex antiquo, et ipsum tenuit dictus quondam dominus Philippus pater dicti domini Egidii [et omnia][a] pheudalia que quondam dominus Guillelmus de Palma tenuit in Aversa, Casale Casorie de territoriis Averse, bona quondam Tallacoctii, bona quondam magistri Vitalis et bona quondam domini Marini Capicis sitis in Aversa,[150] villa Casignani, olivule et arbustuli de dictis territoriis Averse, cum hom [inibus, terr][a]is cultis et incultis, iuribus et pertinentiis terrarum et casalium predictorum. Reservavit tamen sibi dictus dominus Egidius quod si tempore mortis sue relinqueret filium filiam seu dictam consortem suam pregnantem et partus ad lucem pervenerit, voluit quod dicta consors sua habere debeat tantum pro dictis dotario et terciaria dictas terras Sarconi, et pheudum Candictii integrum sicut dictum est et predicta alia bona pheudalia revertantur et sint dictorum filii filie seu postumi prout in instrumento inde confecto plenius cintinetur. Item prefatus dominus Egidius confexus est et recognovit quod olim tempore contracti matrimonii inter ipsum ex parte una et quondam nobilem mulierem dominam Philippam de Gisualdo consortem suam exalteram habuit et recepit dotis nomine pro parte sua a quondam Nicholao de Gisualdo fratre ipsius quondam mulieris uncias sexcen[tas][a], de quibus prefata quondam domina Philippa in ultimo testamento suo legavit et reliquit sibi domino Egidio uncias ducentas et certas alias quantitates residuis quadrigentis unciis legavit ecclesiis et personis in ipso testamento distinctis et in reliquo instituit sibi heredem propter quod prefatus dominus Egidius voluit et mandavit ut subtractis dictis ducentis unciis sic sibi legatis ut predictis, de reliquis quadringentis unciis satisfiat illis prius quibus satisfieri debet secundum formam testamenti dicte quondam domine Philippe et de iure fuerat.[151] Item ensem suum de parisius legatus superius dicto domino Novellono adhereat sibi et in locum ipsius ensis legavit sibi arriense quod fuit dicti domini Philippi patris ipsius domini Egidii et ipsum ensem legavit domino Giliberto de Salcanis. Item legavit iudici Petro de Boiano pultriem unum de pultris aratrie sue. Item iudici Petro omnes terras domos et persones que fuerunt quondam notarii Petri Symonis et Adde de Raone fratrum de Boiano scitos tam infra tenementis Boiani quam eius territoriis ita quod teneatur dare anno quolibet illi qui fuerit dominus Boiani pro solario tarenum unum. Insuper prenominatus dominus Egidius confexus est et recognovit se debere dare infrascriptis personis infrascriptas pecunie quantitates, videlicet heredi quondam domini Odoni de Prassi[152] quas asseruit se habuisse de bonis ipsius domini Odonis post mortem suam uncias viginti sex et tarenos viginti, Alysane mulieri relicte quondam Thomasii de Valerio quas sibi mutuavit de pecunia filiorum suorum ut dixit in auro uncias viginti, heredi quondam Guillelmi de Sentinis[153] facto computo cum ipso herede deductis omnibus uncias viginti et tarenos viginti quinque, Sarraceno de Africca mercatori de Neapoli facto computo cum ipso de omnibus receptis et liberatis per ipsum nobis pro pannis habitis ab ipso Sarraceno pro indumentis nostris, militum et familiarum nostrorum, uncias viginti novem tarenos septem grani-,[b] voluit autem et mandavit ut facto computo cum familiaribus suis solvantur eis gagia que inveniuntur deberi recipere tempore mortis sue. Item voluit et mandavit prefatus dominus Egidius ut predicta legata seu aliquod predictorum legatorum in dicto testamento codicillis seu aliqua voluntate per ipsum dominum Egidium conditis non sint propterea dupplicata, nec dupplicata solvantur, set tantum solvantur et petantur pro ut superius indicatum et relictum est similibus legatis in aliis voluntatibus relictis habitis et non relictis, et ne circa celerem executionem presentis ultime voluntatis per ipsum dominum Petrum in ea causa ubi filii dicti Egidii non extarent super predictos filios postumum seu venturam ubi tempore dicte mortis sue superessent heredes, negligencia aliqua committi preset seu fraus que procul ab executione testamenti esse debet, propterea pre[fat][a]us

---

[a] Hole.

[134] No knight of this name, or of anything resembling it, is mentioned by P. Durrieu, *Les Archives angevines de Naples*, vol. II; there is a Soisy on the Seine just north of Corbeil, and it may be that Giles' nephew came from there, not very far from the Abbey of St.-Maur-des-Fossés and Montreuil.

[135] Durrieu includes Adam, Bernardus, Guillelmus, and two Johannes de Vernolio, also a Giletus de Vernulio, all in the French form de Verneuil. This Godfrey was a witness to the first grant made to Montevergine by Giles, see document VI.

[136] Several members of this, the de Toucy family, are known in Italy; see in addition to Durrieu, *op. cit.*, S. Ammirato, *Delle famiglie nobili napoletane*, part I, Florence, 1580, under Tuzziaco, as they were called in Italy.

[137] Durrieu has Drivo de Villeriis and Estienne de Villeriis; de Villiers.

[138] Philippa, we learn farther on, was the sister of Nicholas di Gesualdo, eldest son of the famous Elia.

---

[139] Tassinus, 'little merchant'; see A. Dauzat, *Dictionnaire Etymologique des noms de famille et prénoms de France*, Paris, 1951.

[140] Not in Durrieu.

[141] Durrieu has Guillelmus de Foresta, Le Forest, chevalier, feudataire, châtelain de château, 1269–74.

[142] Not in Durrieu.

[143] Not in Durrieu.

[144] Durrieu has a Perrinus de Bergerettes, homme d'armes, 1273.

[145] Durrieu does not mention this member of the family; was he related to John and his son of the same name, usually called de Clariaco in Italy?

[146] I have been unable to find any further information about Novellonus de Salvilla, who seems to have been a person of some standing.

---

[a] Hole.

[147] The Benedictine Abbey of St.-Maur-des-Fossés in a bend of the Marne eleven kilometres south-east of Paris. This is Abbot John the second; D. de Sainte-Marthe, *Gallia Christiana*, VII, Paris, 1744, 299.

[148] See above, p. 181.

[149] Isabella, called variously de Dinissiaco and de Dynasiaco, was the daughter of William Bolard, Marshall of the kingdom of Sicily and Cecilia de Sabran; this Cecilia was the daughter of Ermengan de Sabran by his second wife Alistasia, and therefore, if della Marra and de Lellis are correct, she was the full sister of Eustace of Hardicourt.

[150] See above, p. 181, note 107.

---

[a] Hole

[b] The sums have been added.

[151] Before this date a case had been brought against Giles for the restitution of Philippa's dowry: Reg. Ang. 1307 A, fol. 62, 228, in de Lellis, 'Notamenta', IV, part i, 610 and 1307.

[152] Not in Durrieu.

[153] Durrieu has Aprelis de Sentinis de Parisi, cuisinier, valet de l'hôtel, 1272.

dominus Egidius pro celeri executione et expeditione omnium relictorum per eum constituit fecit et ordinavit suos executores et distributores nobiles viros dominum Bartholomeum de Capua Logothetam et Prothonotarium Regni Sicilie, dominum Novellonum predictum, dominum Gilbertum Salcanum, dominum Guillelmum Caprinum et predictum iudicem Petrum de Boiano quemlibet eorum insolidum, quibus executoribus et unicuique ipsorum insolidum aliis eorum consociis cum distributoribus absentibus vel presentibus requisitis vel non requisitis potestatem et licentiam dedit prefatus d[ominus][a] Egidius habere suas, siqui certis absentibus vel presentibus requisitis vel non requisitis propria et presentis testamenti auctoritate, nullius decreto mandato et potestatis magistratus baiulorum et iudicum intervenientibus vel expectatis bona ipsius domini Egidii mobilia [et][a] se se moven[tia][a] bona pheudalia que habet in Cayuano, Aversa et Sancto Vetillano et fuerat quondam domine Sibilie et vocatum pheudum domine Sibilie et omnia pertinencia ad ipsum pheudum intrandi, capiendi, vendendi precio quo potitur meliori insolidum dandi et satisfaciendi pro predictis omnibus [leg][a]atis et dimissis ac relictis prout superius particulariter sunt expressa, mandans ipsis heredibus ut quicquid per eorum distributores seu executores de bonis suis pro predictis omnibus exequendis vel ipsorum alterum facta certa rata habeantur et firma. Voluit autem et ma[nd][a]avit dictus dominus Egidius ac honeravit predictum dominum Novellonum ratione predicti sibi relicti de predicta terra Boiani, ut ipse adimpleat et adimplere teneatur totum defectum qui superesset in executione et expeditione omnium predictorum legatorum et maxime si r[en][a]ditis predictis bonis mobilibus omnibus se seque moventibus et dictis bonis pheudalibus que fuerant quondam dicte domine Sibilie at vocantur pheudum domine Sibilie, pecunia recepta ex vendicione ipsorum non sufficeret pro executione presentis testamenti et legatarum [i][a]n ipso, et si facere recusaverit potestatem habeant dicti distributores quilibet eorum insolidum iura redditus et proventus dicte terre Boiani auctoritate propria ipso domino Novellono in requisito intrare capere, et vendere et satisfacere exinde creditoribus et legatariis supradictis. Insuper voluit quod si predicta omnia non sufficerent pro executione presentis testamenti et exolvendis legatis ac creditis, voluit quod omnes fructus bonorum suorum omnium que habet in Francia percipiantur per predictos distributores seu alterum ipsorum per bre[   ][b]inium et exinde satisfiat dictis creditoribus et legatariis supranominatis. Voluit autem ut satisfacerent omnibus aliis creditoribus qui probare poterunt quod ipse dominus Egidius eis in aliqua teneretur. Voluit autem dictus dominus Egidius et mandavit quod si presens testamentum non valeat nec valere potitur iure testamenti valeat et iures obtineat iure codicillorum, epistole, et cuiuslibet alterius ultime voluntatis. Testantes nos prefati iudex notarius et testes in ordinacione et composictione predicti testamenti iuris et facti sollempnitates omnes servatas et adimpletas fuisse que in testamentis ordinandis et componendis requiruntur a iure. Voluit autem at mandavit ut de predictis omnibus tria similia testamenta scriberentur, quia unum secum ferre volebat et unum assignari executoribus predictis tenendis per ipsos seu alterum ipsorum et aliud in aliquo loco tuto relinquere ad cautelam. Unde ad futuram memoriam et tam predicti domini Egidii quam predictorum heredum et aliorum legatarium et fidei commissariorum et omnium quorum interest et interesse potitur in futurum predicta tria testamenta de voluntate domini Egidii scripta et conferta sunt per manus mei predicti notarii Deuchiludedi signo meo signata, subscriptionibus mei qui supra iudicis et subscriptorum testium subscriptione roborata. Item voluit et mandavit quod si in tempore mortis sue relinqueret filium seu filiam in minori etate seu consortem suam pregnantem quod dictus dominus Novellonus sit ballius et administret balliatum. Que scripsi ego predictus Deuchiludedus puplicus civitatis Nole et Cicale notarius qui rogatus interfui et meo consueto signo signavi.

---

[a] Hole

[b] On a crack and much rubbed.

Ego qui supra Sergius iudex
Ego Guirandus Foubers miles testis sum
Ego Robertus de Palma miles testis subscrissi
Ego Henricus de Sorvillerio miles testis subscrissi
Ego iudex Petrus de Boiano testis sum
Ego Macarius Paulus de Summi de Nola testis subscrissi

Ego iudex Petrus Umgarus testis sum
Ego Jacobus de Namaco presbyter testis sum
Ego iudex Iohannes Sancte Marie testis subscrissi
Ego dopnus Manuele de Palma testis subscrissi
Ego Guillelmus de Aczulin testis subscrissi

XI

1316, 8 December, Indiction XV. At Naples.

Record of an agreement between the proctors of Ilaria de Sus Countess of Sant'Angelo and the proctors of the Abbot of Santa Sofia at Benevento.

Archivio Storico Provinciale de Benevento, Pergamene di Santa Sofia, vol. xiii, no. 48. Parchment, 17–19 cms. × 51–49 cms. The surface is damaged in several places, particularly at the edges, and there are holes down the left hand side, making parts of the document illegible, especially towards the end.

In nomine, etc., Thomasius Runkellus Judge of the city of Naples, and *Jacobus Ronzonus* of Naples, by royal authority notary public throughout the whole kingdom of Sicily, declare *quod in nostri presencia constituta magnifica et egregia mulier domina Ilaria de Sus Comitissa Sancti Angeli relicta quondam viri magnifici domini Philippi de Jamvilla comitis Sancti Angeli Iure Francorum vivens, asseruit se usque nunc habere tenere et possidere et ab hactenus tenuisse et habuisse locationis titulo seu in emphiteosim ad viginti novem annos completas e tempore locationis ipsius ad certum annuum censum a parte Monasterii Sancte Sophie de Benevento, Castrum Cantalupi situm in Justiciariatu Capitanate olim concessum quondam domine Flordelisie de Stipite matri sue a parte [monasterii supradicti][a] per fines infrascriptos cum vassallis iuribus tenimentis et pertinenciis suis ad ipsum [castrum pleno][a] iure spectantibus. Eadem domina considerans et adducens fragilitatem conditionis humane pro remissione peccatorum suorum et parentum et antecessorum suorum et anime sue salute omne [ius quod][b] sibi conpetebat ex locatione iamdicta seu in emphiteosim concessione in Castro ipso, vassallis iuribus continentiis et pertinentiis suis et ex quacunque alia causa a modo quocunque religiosis viris domino fratri Bartholomeo Abbati dicti monasterii et fratri Johanni de Sancto Johanne in Gualdo monacho et procuratori yconomo et nuncio speciali monasterii supradicti, donavit, cessit, et renunciavit expresse in manibus eorumdem pro parte monasterii supradicti faciendo eos exinde nomine quosupra procuratores in rem suam prout in instrumento publico inde facto per manus mei notarii supradicti predicta alia plenius continentur. Verum eadem domina asseruit se non*

---

[a] Hole. [b] Illegible.

modicum affectione possessionem castri predicti cum vassallibus iuribus et pertinentiis suis omnibus prefatis domino Abbati et procuratori nomine quo supra assignare et non posse ad presens ad presenciam suam personaliter accedere ad assignandum possessionem castri predicti cum vassallis et iuribus supradictis eisdem domino Abbati et procuratori nomine quo supra aliis suis negociis occupata set confidens de fide prudentia et legalitate discretorum virorum abbatis Symeonis Archipresbyteris de monacho Leonis et Corradi de Sancto Mauro, she made them her proctors for the purpose of giving possession of the said *Castrum* to the said monastery, and promised to abide by their actions.

This document made by *Jacobus de Ronzonus* notary as above. Witnesses who sign:

Thomasius Runkellus, Judge [ ][a] *de Bonito*
Petrus de Carapellus
Jacobus de Casale Johannis.

XII

1317, 15 June, Indiction XV. At Cantalupo.

The Abbot of Santa Sofia at Benevento takes possession of the *castrum* of Cantalupo. Public instrument containing rescripts of: (*a*) a letter of Thomas Roger of Salerno, Justiciar of the Capitanata, to James of Casali Giovanni, royal commissary, and (*b*) a royal letter of 15 January 1317 to the said Thomas Roger of Salerno.

Archivio Storico Provinciale, Benevento, Pergamene di Santa Sofia, vol. ii, n. 20.

In the presence of many witnesses and of the *Universitas* especially convoked by mandate of the notary *Jacobus de Casali Johannis regius commissarius,* the said James read aloud a letter of *Thomasius Rogerius de Salerno* Justiciar of the Capitanata to the said *Jacobus amicus suus,* which letter contained a royal letter recently assigned to him on behalf of the Abbot and Convent of Benevento: *Exposuit nuper in Curia nostra religiosus vir Bartholomeus Abbas monasterii Sancte Sophie fidelis noster, quod nobilis mulier Ylaria de Sus Commitissa Sancti Angeli fidelis nostra Castrum Cantalupi de decreta tibi provincia titulo locationis facte ad certum tempus de Castro predicto Floresie de Stipitis matri sue huc usque tenuit et possidebat, cumque tempus locationis huiusmodi iam sit finitum, ut preponitur,* and thus the said *castrum* has devolved into the hand of the aforesaid Abbot, and in order that he may hold it reasonably, etc., being assured by the men of the same territory, we command you that you make sure that the said *castrum* is rightly devolved to the said Abbot, and then, the men having taken an oath of fidelity to us, they shall do so also to the Abbot. Naples, by Bartholomew of Capua, 15 Jan., 1317. Accordingly (goes on the letter of Thomas Roger of Salerno), having established that the said *castrum* does belong to the Abbot, go to the *castrum,* take oaths, and have two public instruments made, one for the Curia, and one for the Abbot. At Civitate, 15 March. These letters having been read and inspected the oaths were duly taken.

---

[a] Hole

UNIV.

INDEXES

I. INDEX OF NAMES AND SUBJECTS

The article on *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania* (pp. 124–147) includes an Epigraphic Index (pp. 145–147), and items indexed there are not included in the general indexes below; for individual towns referred to in the article on the *Enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul*, see under Cisalpine Gaul.

A

Ad Trecesimum, in territory of Aquileia, 157.
Aemilia: after 89 B.C., 78; after 49 B.C., 84; centuriation, 82; *coloniae* founded after 42 B.C., 96; *IIViri* and *aediles*, 81; franchise in, 75; *municipia* and *coloniae* in 49 B.C., 91; places of doubtful status or identity, 98.
Alabaster, in tomb at Cyrene, 12.
Alahan (Cilicia), church, 108.
Alpes Maritimae, status, 98.
Alpes Poeninae, status, 98.
Anjou, Charles of: three French followers of, in conquest of Sicily, 169–197.
Antalya: Byzantine church at, 99–114.
Aqueduct of Aspendos, The, by J. B. Ward Perkins, 115–123.
Aqueducts of: Alatri, 117, Arles, 118, Elaeusa-Sebaste, 117, Korykos, 117, Lyon, 118, Pont du Gard, 117, Rodez, 118.
Aquileia, 73, 77–78, 87, 97; centuriation and territory, 156 f.; diocese, 163–164; evangelisation from, 158, 164, 166; flight of the metropolitan, 159.
Asia Minor: Antalya, church at, 99–114; Aspendos, aqueduct of, 115–123; building methods of, 121 f.; vaulting in, 123.
Aspendos: aqueduct of, 115–123; basilica, 115, 121–122, nymphaeum, 115, 122, theatre, 115.
Attaleia, *see* Antalya.
Attributi, in Cisalpine Gaul, 76 f., 78, 81, 87, 91, 98.
Augustus, policy in Cisalpine Gaul, 95–98.
Austuriani, in Tripolitania, 131 no. *IRT* 570 n. 1, 143 no. *IRT* 480.

B

Ballance, M. H., *Cumanın Cami'i at Antalya: a Byzantine Church*, 99–114.
Basilica, at Aspendos, 115, 121 f.
Battus, tomb of, 20
Bavarians, in Drau valley, 166; in Italy, 162 ff.
Brick-stamps, from Southern Etruria, 63–65, 71 f.
Bridge: on Via Clodia, 59 f., 65, 67, on Via Veientana, 53.
Bridges, S. F., *Langue d'Oïl to Volgare Siciliano: Three Followers of Charles of Anjou*, 169–197.
Budrasc: tombs with niches, 6.
Bullough, D. A., *The Regnum Italiae in the Carolingian Period*, 148–168.
Burial, at Cyrene: cinerary urns, 3; inhumation, 3; wooden coffins, 4.
Byzantine: *castra*, along the Drau, 159, protecting Venetian plain, 161; church at Antalya, 99–114; masonry, Aspendos, 120–122; occupation, Africa, 136 no. S 15, n. 2, Dalmatia, 162, 164, N. Italy, 151, 158–160, Pannonia, 162.

C

Carantania, extent of, 163.
Careiae, road station, 58, 63 f., 68 f.
Carolingian Period, The Regnum Italiae in, 148–168.
Cassels, John, *The Cemeteries of Cyrene*, 1–43.
Centuriation, 95, 152, 156; *see* Cisalpine Gaul.
Christian symbols, at Antalya: crosses, 102 f., 105, 112, 114; eagles, 114; fish, 105, 114.
Church, *see* Antalya.
Cisalpine Gaul, The Enfranchisement of, by Ursula Ewins, 73–98.
Cisalpine Gaul: Augustus' policy in, 95–98; before 89 B.C., 73–75; Caesar's policy in, 75–79, 82–95, 96; centuriation, 81 f., 94, 97, 156–158; domain-land of Arpinum, Atella and Aquinum, 81; in late antiquity and early middle ages, 148–168; *lex provinciae*, 76; provincialisation of, 76.
    Towns of: Acelum, 82, 87; Ad Tricesimum, 82; Alba Pompeia, 75, 79, 84 f., 96; Albingaunum, 74, 78, 84; Albintimilium, 74, 78, 84; Altinum, 82, 87; Aquae Statiellae, 85; Aquileia, 73, 77 f., 87, 97; Aquinum, 81; Ariminum, 73, 96; Ateste, 73 f., 97; Augusta Bagiennorum, 80, 82, 84 f., Augusta Praetoria, 97; Bellunum, 86 f.; Bergomum, 82; Beria, 88; Bononia, 73, 77, 96; Brixellum, 74, 96; Brixia, 87, 97; Concordia (Iulia), 87, 97; Cremona, 73, 77 f., 97; Dertona (Iulia Dertona), 73 f., 77, 82, 96; Dripsinum, 87; Emona, 91; Eporedia, 73, 78; Feltria, 86 f.; Forum (Corneli), 81, (Iulium), 88, 93; (Iulium Iriensium), 93, 96, (Licini), 98, (Vibi), 96, 98; Genua, 73 ff., 78, 84; Glemona, 88; Hasta, 81, 96; Industria (Bodincomagus), 73, 81; Iulia Augusta Taurinorum, 96; Iulium Carnicum, 87, 88; Laumellum, 85; Laus Pompeia, 75, 79; Leuceris, 98; Libarna, 96; Luna, 74 f.; Mantua, 80, 82; Mediolanium, 75, 80, 85 f., 96 f.; Mutina, 73, 96; Novum Comum, 75, 79 f., 85 f.; Opitergium, 82 f., 86 f., 94; Parentium, 89; Parma, 73, 96; Patavium, 74, 80, 82, 97; Pisa, 74 f.; Placentia, 73, 77, 86, 96; Pola, 89, 97; Pollentia, 81; Quarquani, 98; Ravenna, 78 f., 96; Segesta Tigulliorum, 84; Segusio, 98; Tarvisium, 82, 87; Tergeste, 89, 97; Ticinum, 82, 85, 97; Togienses, 98; Tridentium, 86 f.; Vada Sabatia, 84 f.; Veleia, 74 f., 79, 97; Vercellae, 82; Verona, 75, 80, 86, 97.
Cispadana (Cispadani): enfranchisement of, 74 f., 76 ff.
Cisterns: Aspendos, 115, 118, 122 f., in S. Etruria, 50 f., 67, 71.
Coins: in tomb at Cyrene, 12; hoard found near Via Clodia, 64.
Concordia (Iulia): 87, 97; under Lombards and Byzantines, 159; *territorium*, 156 ff.
Constantinople, Theodosian Walls, substructures of Great Palace, 123.
Cottian States, status, 76, 98.
Croats, *see* Liburnia.

Cumanın Cami'i at Antalya: a Byzantine Church, by M. H. Ballance, 99–114.

Cyrene: cemeteries of, 1–43; goddess perhaps represented in funerary statues, 5; North-West Stoa, 19; Strategeion, 14 f., 20; Temple of, Apollo, 12, Artemis, 15, Demeter, 15, Hades, 12, Hecate, 15, 19, Jason Magnus, 15, Zeus, 12, 18; Treasury at Delphi, 11, 15, 19 f.

D

Dalmatia, under Byzantines, 162, 164.

de Sus family, 169–197 *passim* (*see* genealogical table, 170).

Diocesan Sees: Aquileia, 163 f., in country of Friuli, 158 f., Istria, 161, Iulium Carnicum, 158, 160, Pola, 162, Tergeste, 161 f.; evidence for boundaries, 153; relation to Roman *territorium*, 149.

E

Elaeusa-Sebaste (Cilicia), aqueduct, 117, bath-building, 122.

Ephesus, Church of St. John, 122, Hadrianic Library, 122.

Etruria, *see* Southern Etruria.

Ewins, Ursula, *The Enfranchisement of Cisalpine Gaul*, 73–98.

F

Feudalia, 182.

Foederati, in Cisalpine Gaul, 73, 91.

Fontana del Re Carlo, beside the Via Veientana, 52–55.

Forum Iulium, boundaries of, 154–161, under Byzantines, 158 f., *see also* Friuli.

Frankish law in kingdom of Sicily, 171, 175 f., 178.

Franks: in Italy and Pannonia, 163 f.; pressure on Liburnia, 164.

Frederiksen, Martin, *Inscriptions and Brickstamps found near Via Clodia and Via Veientana*, 69–72.

Frescoes, at Antalya, 106, 109 f. (*See also* Painting.)

Friuli: boundaries, 166 ff.; control over Lower Pannonia, 164, 166; county (duchy) of, 154–163; mark of, 164 f., 168; relations with Istria, 165, 168.

Funerary sculpture in Cyrene cemeteries, 4 ff.; *see also* catalogue of tombs, 26–43.

G

Gabi tufa, 47.

Gaius, Emperor, 96.

Galeria Vecchia, 68 f.

Gê, perhaps represented at Cyrene, 5.

H

Hipposandal, found beside Via Veientana, 52.

I

Inscriptions: Alatri, 117; Antalya, 109 (painted), 111 f.; Cisalpine Gaul, 79, 92 f.; Cyrene, 3 f., 9 f., 15, 19 ff., 21 f. (painted), *see also* catalogue of tombs, 26–43; Southern Etruria, 69–71; Tripolitania, 124–147.

Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania: A Supplement, by Joyce Reynolds, 124–147.

Istria, Roman, 89; Roman and medieval, 154, 161–166, 168.

Iulium Carnicum: *territorium*, 157; diocesan see, 158, 160; under Byzantines and Lombards, 160.

C. Iulius Caesar: policy in Cisalpine Gaul, 75, 79, 82–95, 96.

L

Langue d'Oïl to Volgare Siciliano: Three Followers of Charles of Anjou, by S. F. Bridges, 169–197.

Lepcis Magna, inscriptions, 125–133.

Lex: Iulia (89 B.C.), 77; *Mamilia Roscia Peducaea Alliena Fabia*, 93, 94, 95; *Municipalis*, 93; *Pompeia* (on Cisalpine Gaul), 75 ff., 81; *Provinciae* (Cisalpine Gaul), 76; *Roscia*, 92; Rubria, 92.

Liburnia: towns of the Scardonitarian Conventus, 90 f.; Croats attacked by Eric of Friuli, 164; Frankish pressure on, 164; independent, 166.

Libyan alphabet, 120 no. S 8 n. 2.

Liguria, 73, 77 f., 84, 91, 96; *attributi* in, 77, 81; centuriation, 82; Roman roads in, 74; Ligures Montani, 98.

Limes along Drau, 158.

Lombard Law in Kingdom of Sicily, 171, 175.

Lombards: in N. Italy, 149 f., 152, 154 f., 158–161; attack on Istria, 162; in Pannonia, 162.

Lyon, aqueduct, 118.

M

Marble: at Antalya, 103–111 *passim*; at Aspendos, 115, 122; at Cyrene, sarcophagi and funerary sculpture, 4 ff., 21 f., *see also* catalogue of tombs, 26–43; in S. Etruria, *cipollino*, 66, Luna, 47, 59, 63 f., 69 f., Numidian, 64, onyx, 66, Pentelic, 49, porphyry, 64, 66, *rosso antico*, 64, Skyros, 64, white Greek marble, 66.

Mark, Carolingian, 164 f., 168.

Martyrion, possible, at Antalya, 101, 111.

Mausoleum, *see* tombs.

Meghernes, circular tomb, 12; tomb without doors, 16.

Messa, stone coffin at, 4.

Montreuil, Philip of, and family, in Sicily, 169–183 *passim*.

Mosaics: at Antalya, glass, 106, tesserae, 110; S. Etruria, floor, 57, 59, 64, glass, 66.

Mosterola, *see* Montreuil.

Mura di Santo Stephano, 66.

Muracciole, Le, 67.

N

Nymphaeum, at Aspendos, 115, 122.

O

Oea, inscription, 125.

Onomastos, tomb of, 12.

P

Painting: Antalya church, 110; Cyrene, inscription, 21, in tomb, 7, 21 (*see also* catalogue of tombs, 26–43); S. Etruria (wall plaster), 57, 59.

Pamphylia, Antalya, church, 99–114; Aspendos, aqueduct, 115–123.

Pannonia, Byzantine and Lombard occupation, 162; Franks in, 163 f.; lower, 164, 166.

Paroekia (Paros), church, 106, 108.

Pergamum, Serapeum, 122.

Perge, church, 108.

Persephone, perhaps represented at Cyrene, 6.

Pola, diocese, 162.

Cn. Pompeius Magnus: influence in Cisalpine Gaul, 75, 91.

Cn. Pompeius Strabo, policy of in Cisalpine Gaul, 74–83.

R

Regnum Italiae in the Carolingian Period, The, by D. A. Bullough, 148–168.
Reynolds, Joyce, *Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania: a Supplement*, 124–147.
Roads: in Cisalpine Gaul, 74, 88 f., 89 n. 59, Via Iulia Augusta, 93 n. 85, 96; in S. Etruria, 56, Anguillara road, 65–68, Via Aurelia, 63, Via Cassia, 45–63 *passim*, 70, Cesano road, 69, Via Clodia, 58–72, Via Flaminia, 47, 56, 70, 72, road Galeria to Caere, 68, via Triumphalis, 63, Via Veientana, 45–58, 71; in Tripolitania, 125 no. 53 n. 1.
Rome, S. Agnese, 108.

S

Sabratha, inscription, 125.
Salonica, church of St. Demetrius, 108; church of St. George (mausoleum of Galerius), 123.
Sarcophagi, at Cyrene, 3 ff., 10 ff., Attic kline-sarcophagi, 6, *see also* catalogue of tombs, 26–43.
Sciatbi, tombs at, 15, 17.
Sepolcro dei Vejenti, *see* Tombs.
Sicily, kingdom of, 169–197.
Slavs: territories annexed to the *Regnum Italiae*, 161–166; settlements in Italy, 162 f.; in Gailtal, 163; at Tergeste, 161 f.
Southern Etruria and the Ager Veientanus, Notes on, by J. B. Ward Perkins, 44–72.

T

Tergeste, 89, 97; territorium, 157 f.; under Romans, Lombards and Slavs, 161 f.
Terracotta: found near Via Clodia, plaques, 63, antefix, 64, 66.
Territorium of Roman cities in Italy, 149, 151 ff.
Theatre, Aspendos, 115.
Tiberius, foundation of Emona, 91, bridge-building, 96.
Tombs: at Cyrene, 1–43; in S. Etruria, Sepolcro dei Vejenti and other tombs on Via Veientana, 47–50, 56, 57; near Via Clodia, 66, 67.
Transpadana (Transpadani), 75–78, 82, 91, 94, 96, 98.
Tribes, Roman: Arnensis, 74 f.; Camilia, 84; Claudia, 86–91; Collina, 87; Falerna, 74 f.; Galeria, 74 f.; Lemonia, 89; Menenia, 86; Oufentina, 75, 85 f.; Papiria, 85 ff.; Pollia, 73, 77, 81, 84, 96; Pomptina, 77; Pupinia, 89; Quirina, 87; Scaptia, 87 f.; Stellatina, 96; Vellina, 87, 89; twenty-four represented in Cisalpine Gaul, 83 f.
Trieste, *see* Tergeste.
Tripolitania, Latin and Greek Inscriptions of, 124–147.

V

Veii, Ager Veientanus, *see* Southern Etruria.
Venetia (Veneti): relations with Rome, 73 f.; centuriation, 82, 94, status after 49 B.C.; *attributi*, 86 f., *municipia* and *coloniae*, 91, 97, 98; organisation in Roman, Lombard and Carolingian periods, 154–168.
Veteran settlements: Caesar, 82, 93 f.; Triumvirs and Augustus, 95 f.
Villas (Roman), S. Etruria, 52, 66 f.

W

Ward Perkins, J. B., *Notes on Southern Etruria and the Ager Veientanus*, 44–72; *The Aqueduct of Aspendos*, 115–123.

Z

Zawani, tombs, 9, 13–16.

II. INDEX OF AUTHORS, DOCUMENTS AND INSCRIPTIONS

In this index are mentioned only such references as are the subject of original or important comment. The article on Inscriptions of Roman Tripolitania (pp. 124–147) includes an epigraphic index, and items indexed there are not included in the general index below.

APPIAN

B.C. I, 49 . . . 74
I, 66 . . . 75
I, 86 . . . 76
V, 579 . . . 94 n. 90

ARTEMIDORUS

in Stephanus, *s.v.* . . . 89 n. 60

CAESAR

B.C. I, 15 . . . 93

CATULLUS

XVII . . . 80 n. 32
XXXV, 4 . . . 80 n. 29

CICERO

ad Att. I, i, 2 . . . 77
V, ii, 3 . . . 92
ad Fam. VIII, i, 4 . . . 79
XII, v, 2 . . . 94 n. 90
XIII, vii 1 and xi 1 . . . 81
XIII, xi, 3 . . . 93
XIII, xxxv, 1 . . . 86 n. 53
in Pis. 2 . . . 77
in Verr. II. I, 13, 34 . . . 76
Phil. III, 13, X, 10, XII, 9–10 . . . 94 n. 90
pro Balbo, XIV, 32 . . . 73
XXII, 50 . . . 78
in Pis., ap. Ascon. 2–3 . . . 77, 79, 96

CIL

V, 331 . . . 82 n. 40
2864 . . . 92 n. 82
3329 . . . 80 n. 32
4212 . . . 97 n. 106
5847 . . . 86 n. 51
7153 . . . 96, 96 n. 100
7749 . . . 78
XIV, 4319 . . . 126, s. 4, n. 3
XV, 521 . . . 72 no. 11
659, c. . . . 72 no. 10
666 . . . 71 no. 5
683 . . . 72 no. 9
862 . . . 72 no. 7

DIGEST

47, 21, 3 . . . 94

DIO CASSIUS

XLI, 36 . . . 79, 91

AULUS GELLIUS

IV, iv, 3 . . . 77

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS

at Cyrene, published . . . 10, 15, 20
from Byzantine church at Antalya, published . 111 f.
from Tripolitania, published . 125, 128, 129, 135 f.
Oliverio, *Documenti Antichi dell'* Africa italiana, Cirenaica, II, i, 1933, 120, 124 . . . 10 n. 12 & 13
Robinson, *AJA* XVII (1913), 22, 23, 26 (*a*) and (*b*), 50 . . . 10 n. 11

HIRTIUS

BG VIII, 24 . . . 89 n. 60

ILS

246 . . . 71

LATIN BRICK STAMPS

from Southern Etruria, published . . 63–65, 71 f.

LATIN DOLIA STAMPS

from Southern Etruria, published . . . 71 f.

LATIN INSCRIPTIONS

Bruns, *Fontes Iuris Romani*, ed. 7, 1909
XV (*Lex Mamilia Roscia*) . . . 94
XVI (*Fragmentum Atestinum*) . . 92
XVII (fragment from Veleia) . . 79, 92, 93
from Southern Etruria, published . . 59, 63, 69–71
from Tripolitania, published . . . 125–147

LIVY

XXXIII, 36, 14 . . . 80
Per. LXXII . . . 74

LUCAN, SCHOLIAST ON

IV, 462 . . . 82

MELA

II, 57 . . . 90 n. 66

PLINY

H.N. III 46 . . . 78 n. 21
48 . . . 84
116 . . . 81
123 f. . . . 85
127 . . . 89
130 . . . 80 n. 32, 82 n. 40, 87, 88
131 . . . 90
138 . . . 76
139 . . . 90

PLUTARCH

Comp. of Dion and Brutus, 5 . . . 94 n. 90

SEG

IX, 2 . . . 1 n. 2
193, 194 . . . 4 n. 5
236 . . . 10 n. 12

STRABO

IV, 6, 1, 202 . . . 74 n. 5, 78 n. 21
6, 3, 203 . . . 73
V, 1, 1, 210 . . . 79
1, 6, 213 . . . 79, 86 n. 53
1, 9, 215 . . . 89 n. 60
VII, 5, 3, 314 . . . 89

SUETONIUS

De Rhet. 6 . . . 94 n. 90
Div. Aug. 51, 2 . . . 94 n. 90
Dom. 23, 1 . . . 71

TACITUS

Hist. III, 8 . . . 80

VELLEIUS

ii, 87 . . . 94 n. 90

VITRUVIUS

VIII, 6, 1–9 . . . 117, 118
6, 5–6 . . . 119

ANNALES REGNI FRANCORUM

pp. 151, 174 . . . 163, 164

BENEVENTO, DOCUMENTS
(published)

Archivio Storico Provinciale, Pergamene di Santa Sofia X, 28 . . . 187
XIII, 48 . . . 196
vol. II n. 20 . . . 197
Biblioteca Capitolare
vol. 273, doc. cxx, p. 165 . . . 185 (*in extenso*)
vol. 273, doc. cxxi, p. 165 v. . . . 186

BÖHMER, rev. MUHLBACHER, *REGESTA IMPERII*, 2nd Ed., 1908

682 . . . 155
1912 . . . 165

CAVA, DOCUMENTS
(published)

Archivio della Badia di Cava dei Tirreni
LVI, 106 . . . 184
LVII, 34 . . . 184

DE RUBEIS, *DISSERTATIONES VARIAE ERUDITIONIS*, 1762

Sesto document of ?805 . . . 155

GEORGE OF CYPRUS

n. 623 a. . . . 160

HISTORIA LANGOBARDORUM

II, 9 . . . 155
II, 14 et seq. . . . 157, 159
IV, 38 . . . 163

MGH

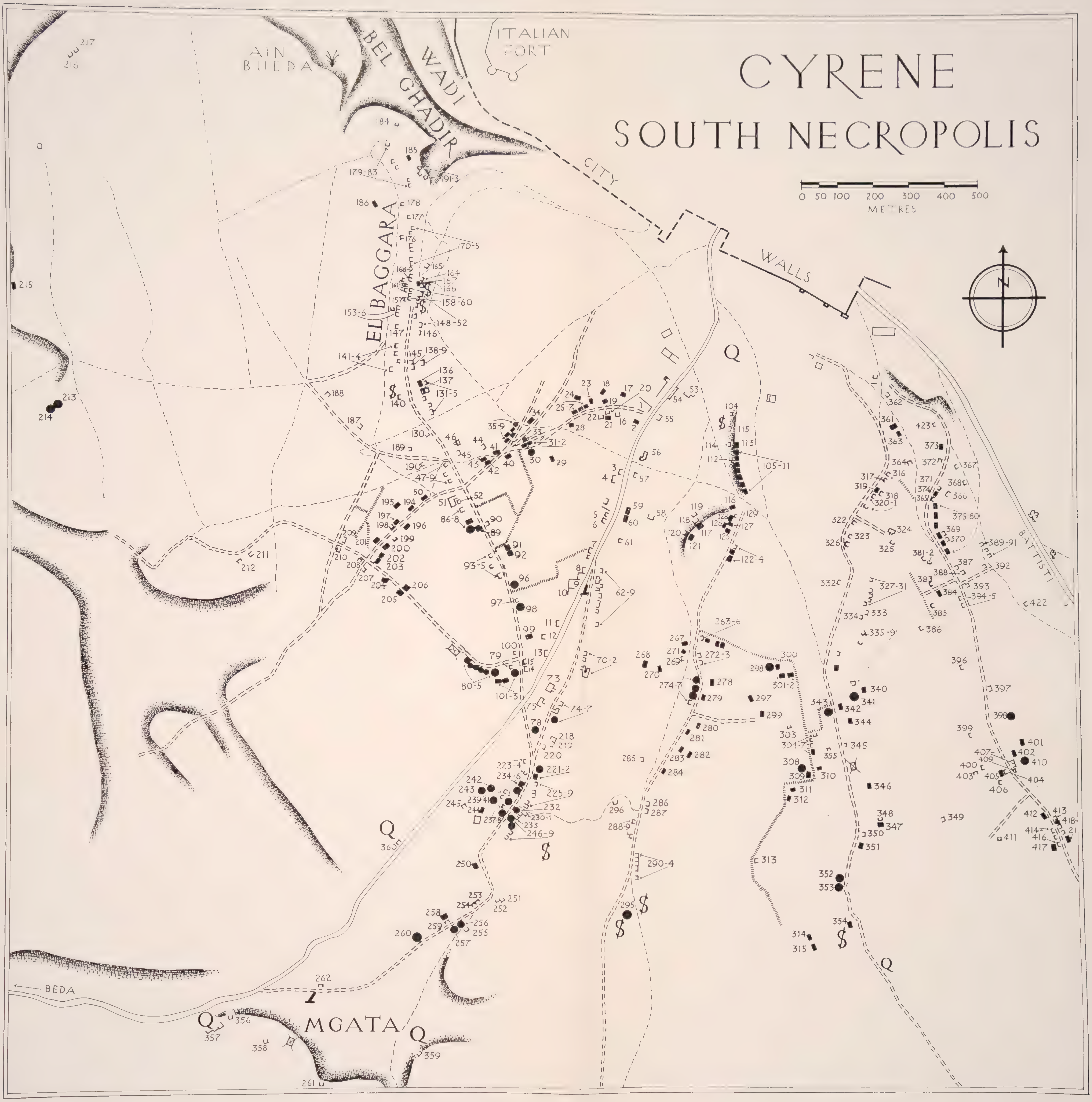
SS. Lang. 188 ff. . . . 157
Ep. III, p. 590 . . . 165
IV, p. 528 . . . 165
SS. IV pp. 447 ff. . . . 165
Cap. I n. 99 . . . 168
Conc. II n. 20 pp. 172 ff. . . . 164

MONTEVERGINE, DOCUMENTS
(published)

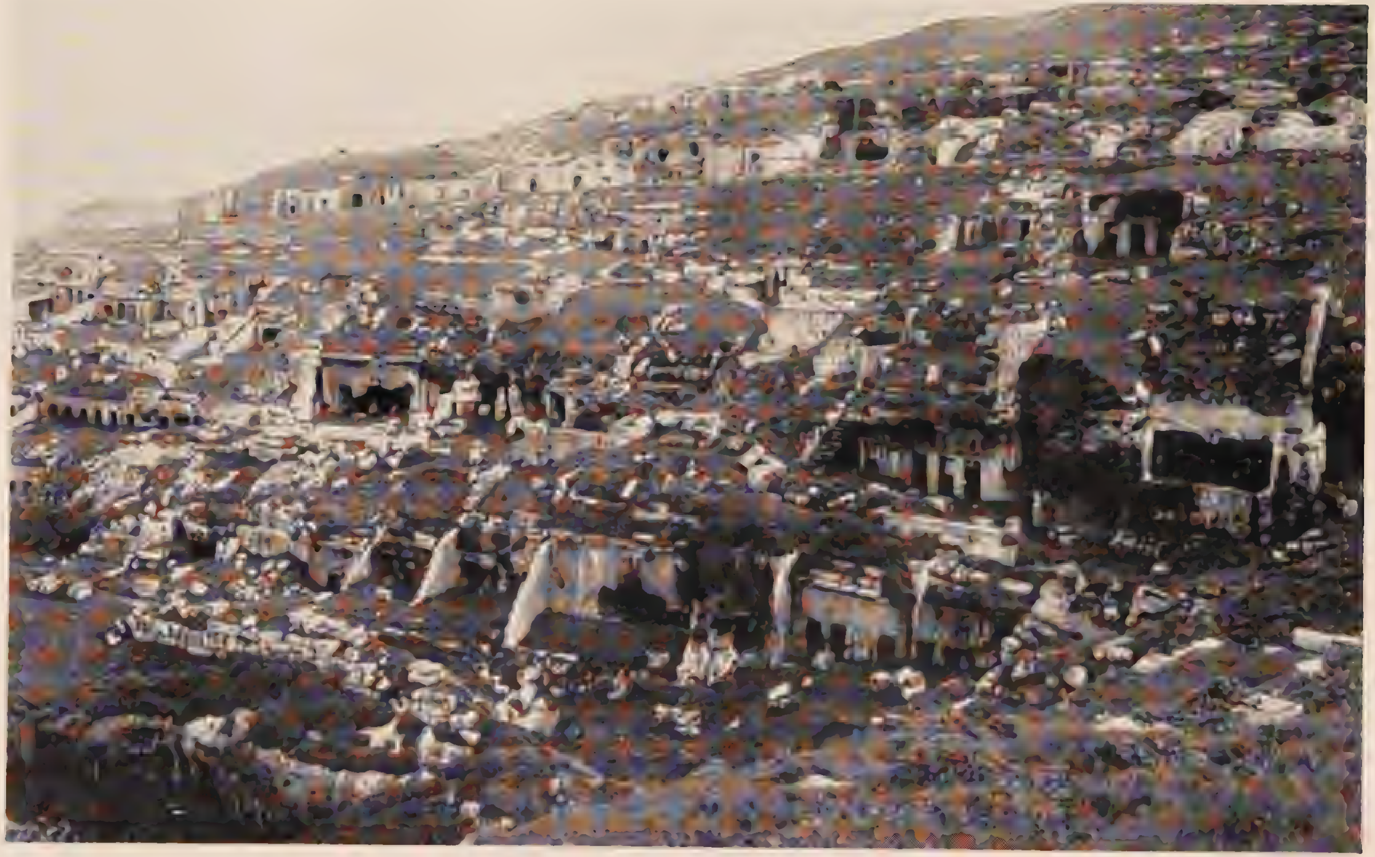
Archivio di Santa Maria di Montevergine
MS 20 . . . 171 n. 5
vol. xcviii n. 2 . . . 187
n. 3 . . . 188
n. 4 . . . 188
viii n. 115 . . . 189
lxxv n. 244 . . . 190 (*in extenso*)

NAPLES, STATE ARCHIVES

Carlo De Lellis, '*Notamenta ex Registris*', Extracts from the destroyed Angevin Archives notes on pp. 170–190

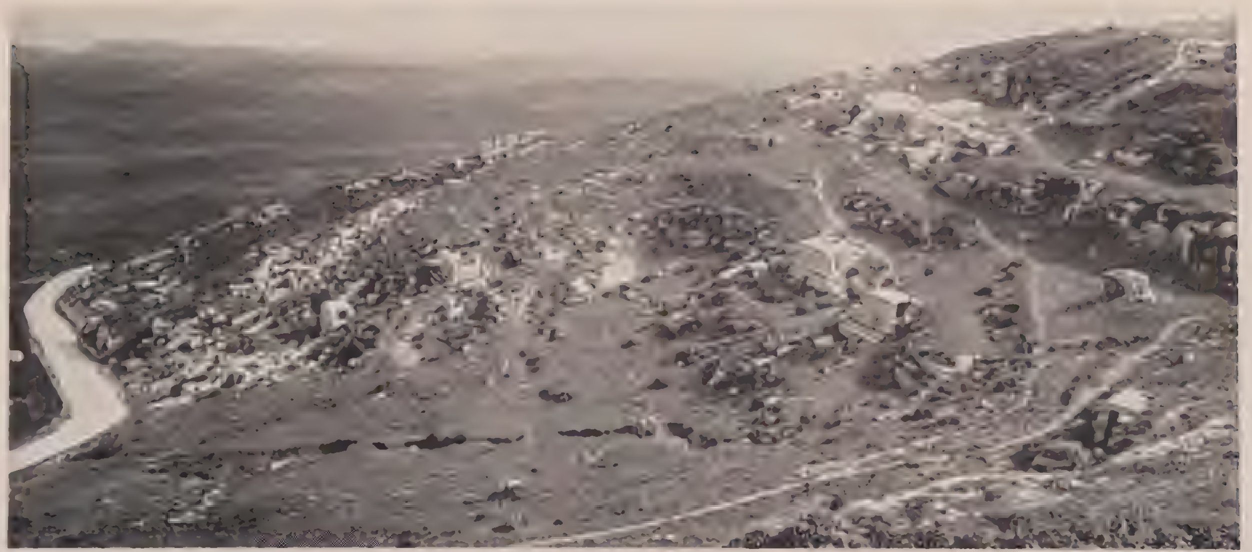


Cyrene: South Necropolis



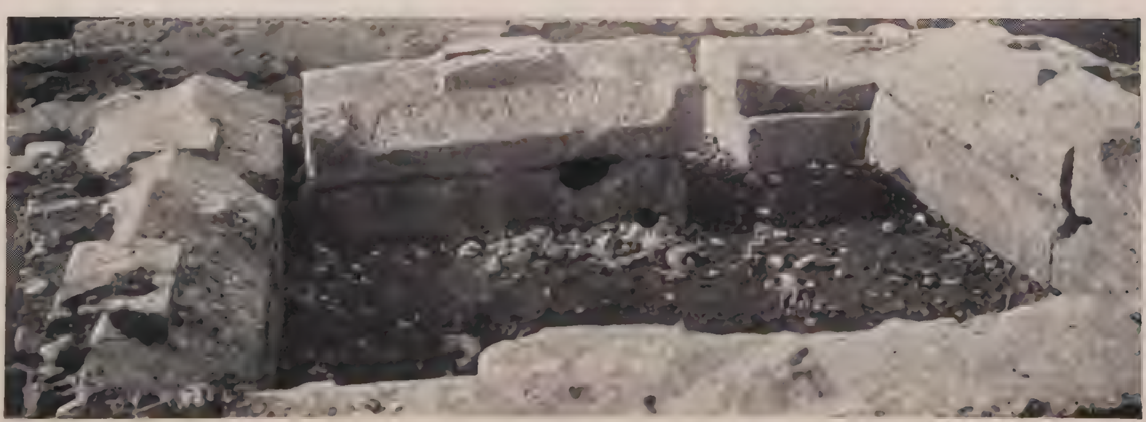
(*Antiquities Department*)

Cyrene: North Necropolis, Looking North-east from near N 17



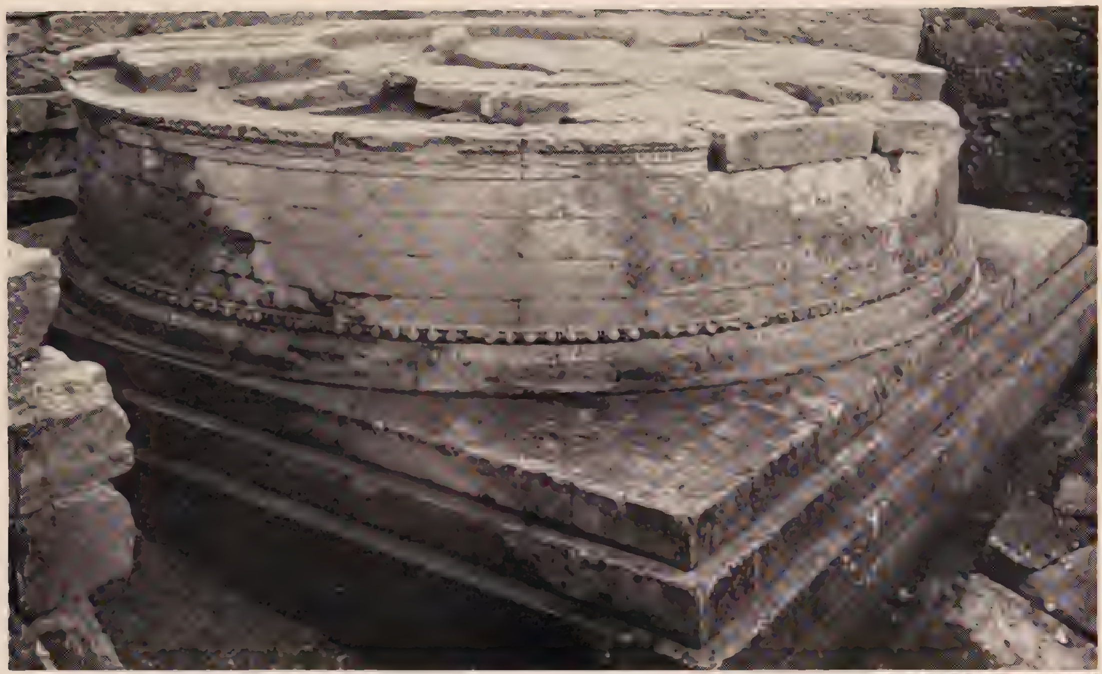
(Antiquities Department)

a. Cyrene: North Necropolis, Looking North from near N 19



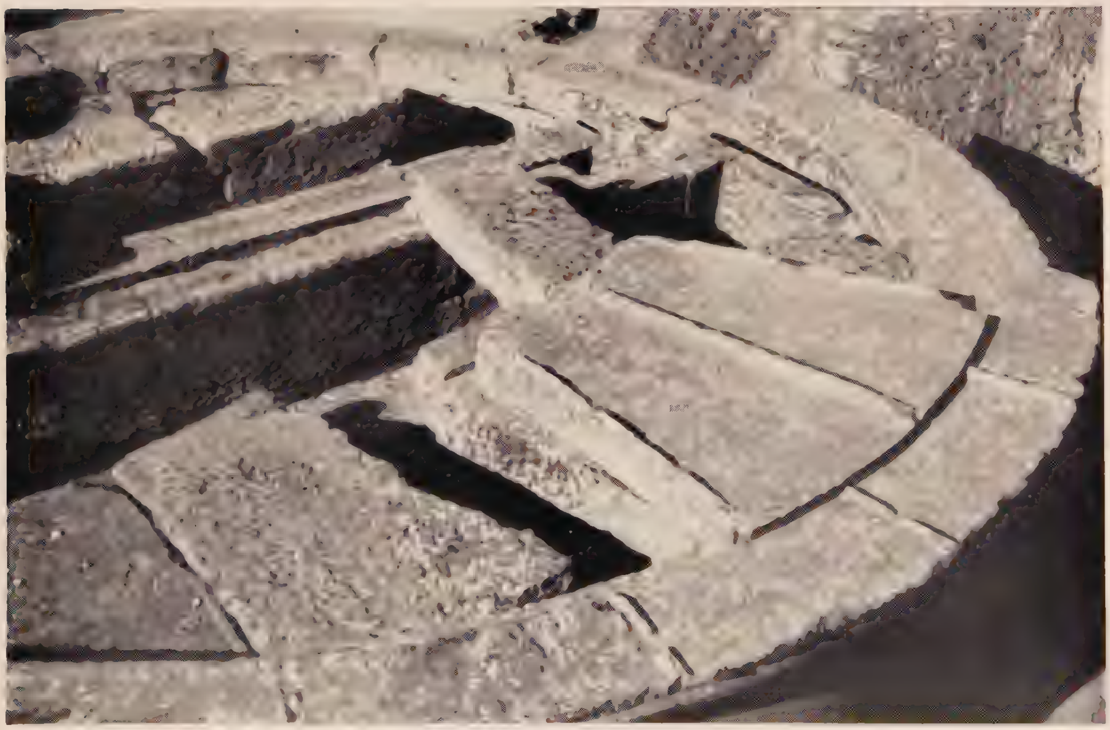
(Antiquities Department)

b. Cyrene: Group of Sarcophagi in South Necropolis (p. 10)



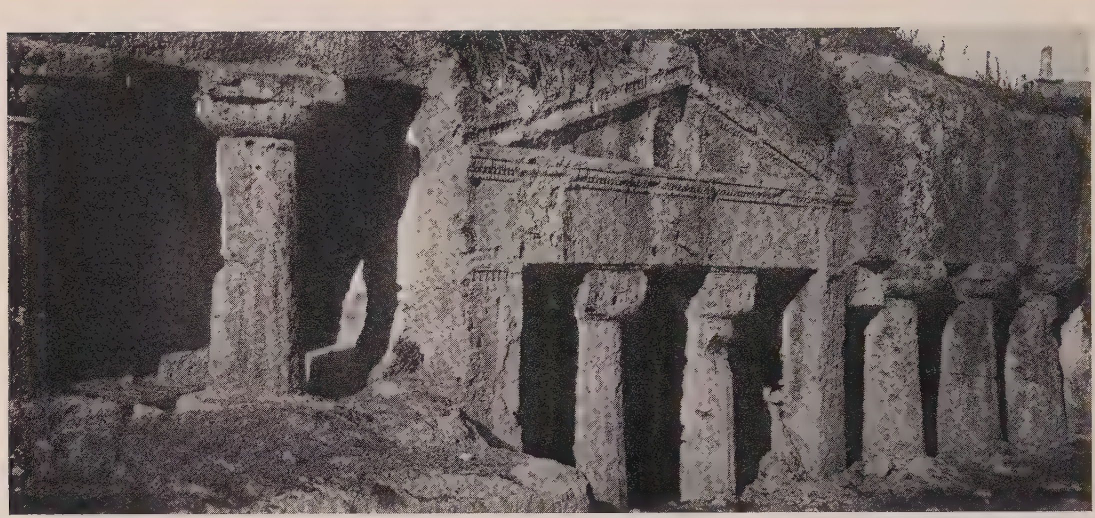
(*Antiquities Department*)

a. Cyrene: Circular Built Tomb, N 1 (p. 11)



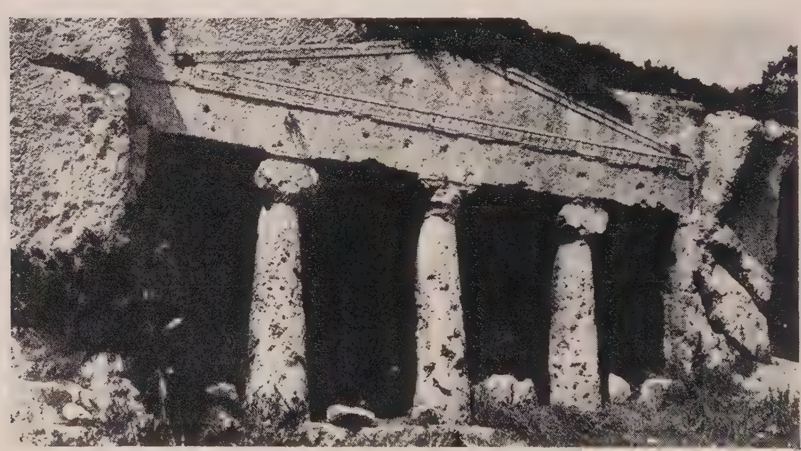
(*J.B.W.P.*)

b. Cyrene: Roof of N 1 (p. 11)



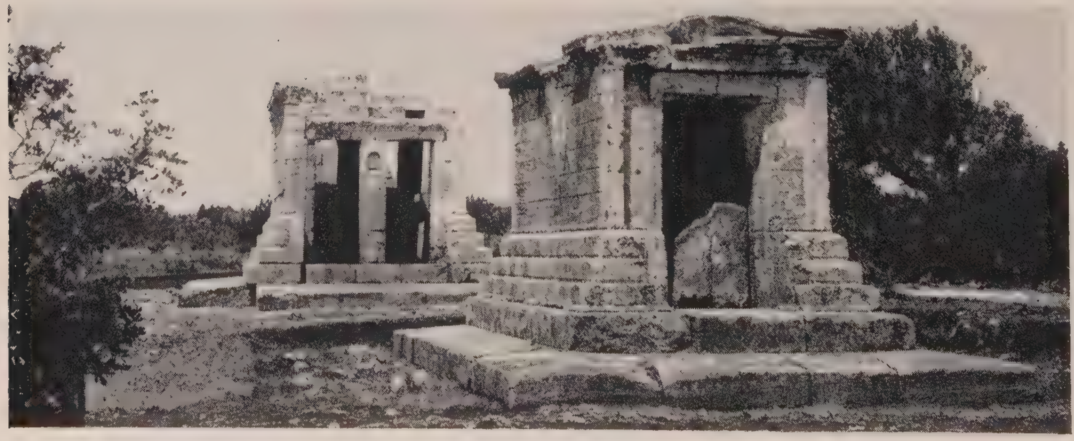
(*Antiquities Department*)

a. CYRENE: ROCK-CUT TOMBS, N 7–9 (pp. 17 f.)



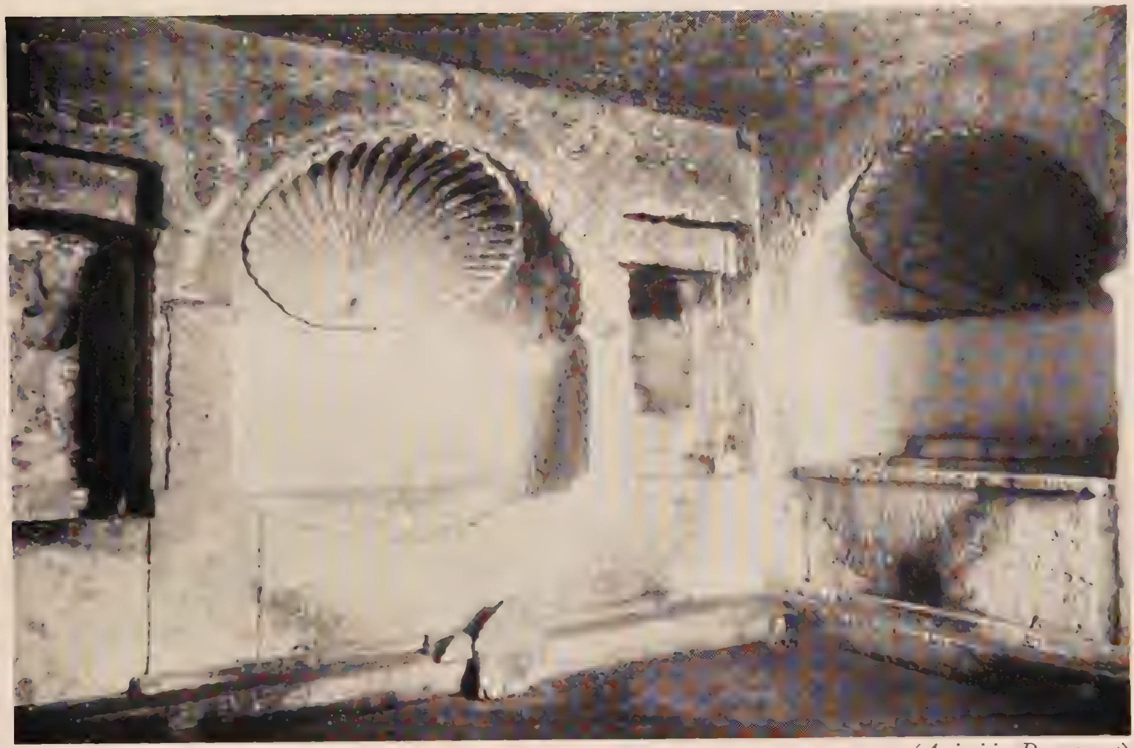
(*Antiquities Department*)

b. CYRENE: ROCK-CUT TOMB, W 48 (p. 18)



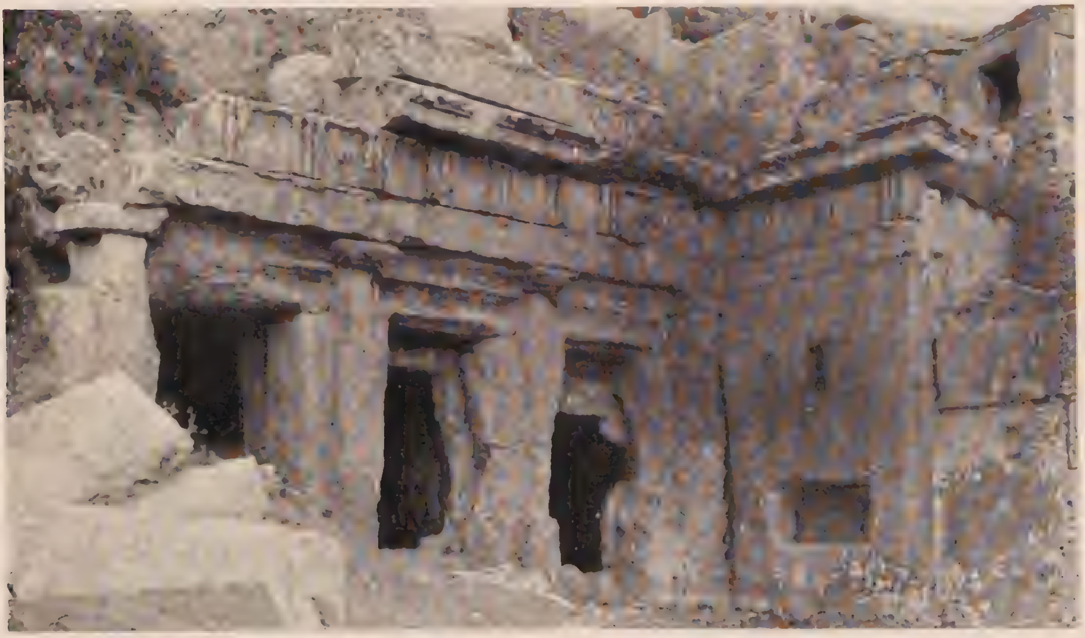
(*Antiquities Department*)

c. ZAWANI: BUILT RECTANGULAR TOMBS (pp. 13 f.)



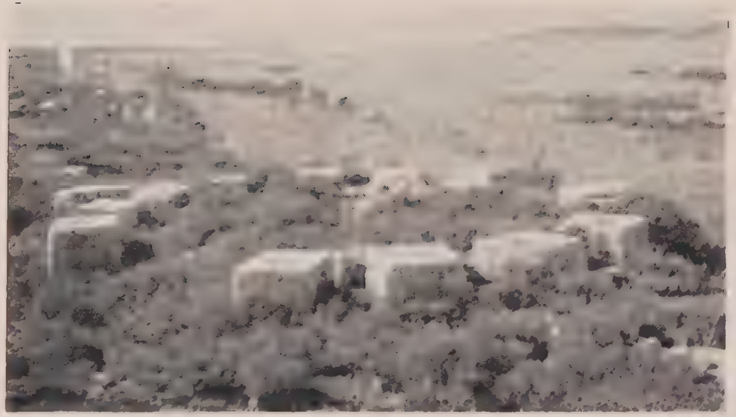
(*Antiquities Department*)

a. CYRENE: ROMAN ROCK-CUT TOMB, N 83 (p. 21)



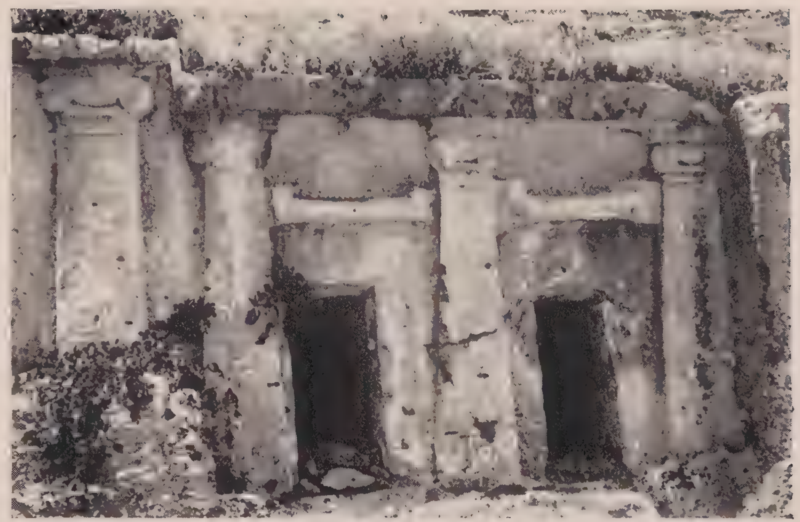
(*Antiquities Department*)

b. CYRENE: ROCK-CUT TOMB, N 65 (p. 7)



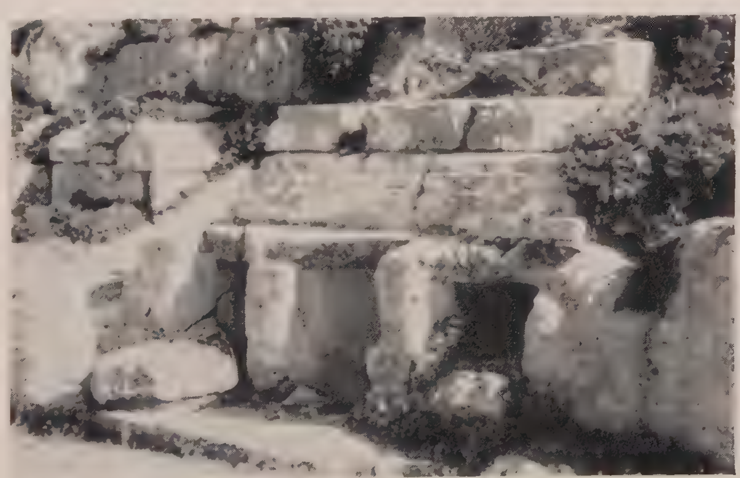
(*J.S.C.*)

a. CIRCULAR TOMB, S 84 (p. 14)



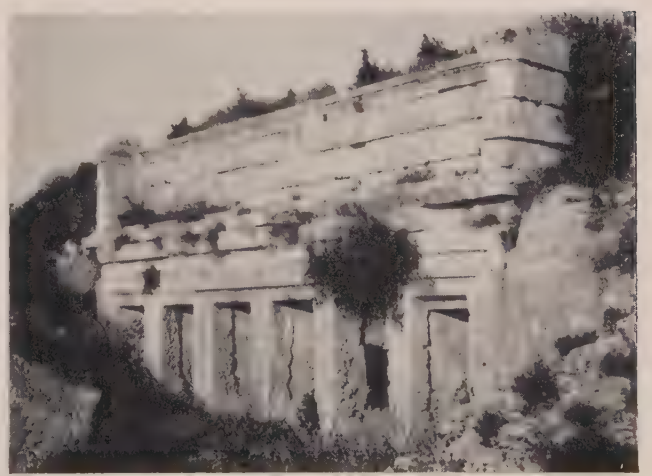
(*J.B.W.P.*)

b. ROCK-CUT TOMB, W 28 (p. 18)



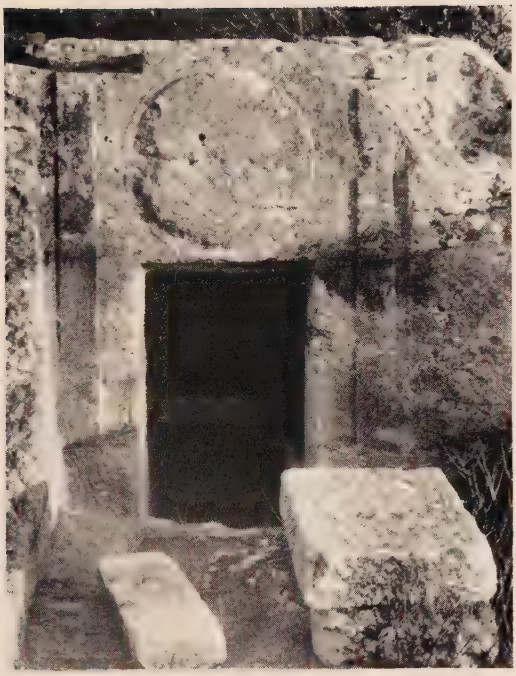
(*J.S.C.*)

c. BUILT TOMB WITH ROCK-CUT CHAMBERS, N 180 (p. 16,



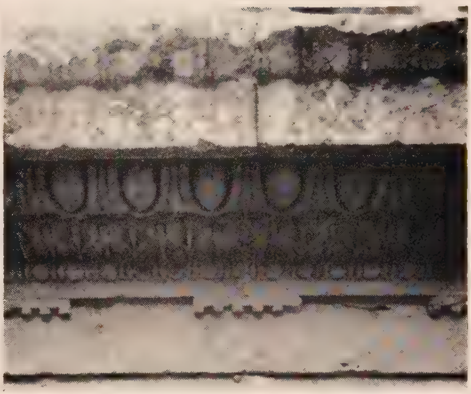
(*J.B.W.P.*)

d. ROCK-CUT TOMB WITH BUILT BALUSTRADE, N 183 (p. 19)



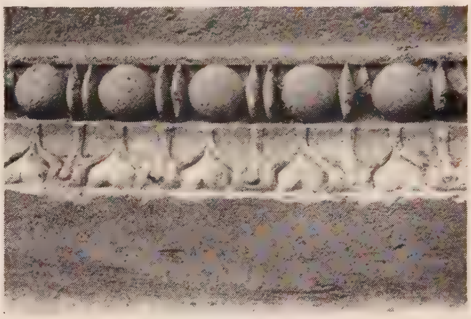
(*J.B.W.P.*)

a. Rock-cut Tomb, N 13 (p. 21)



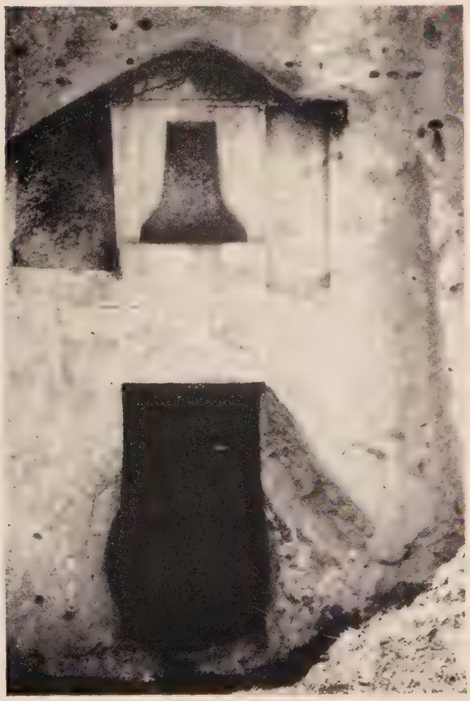
(*J.S.C.*)

b. Entablature of N 1 (p. 11)



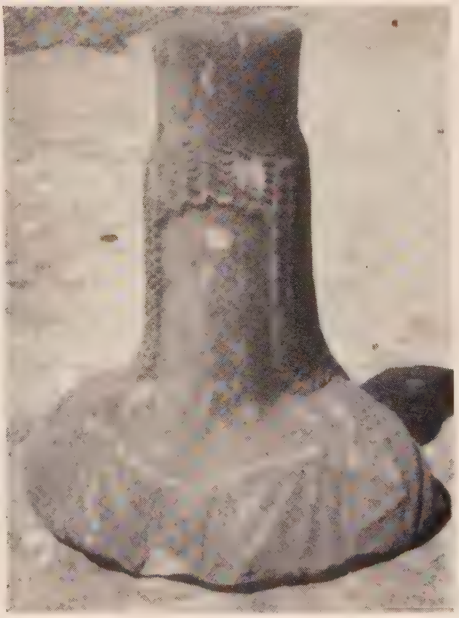
(*J.B.W.P.*)

c. Base-moulding of N 1 (p. 11)



(*J.B.W.P.*)

d. Rock-cut Tomb, W 152 (p. 18)

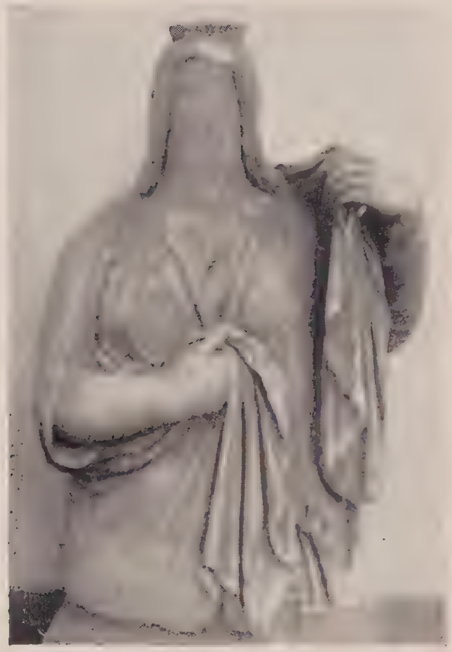


(*J.S.C.*)

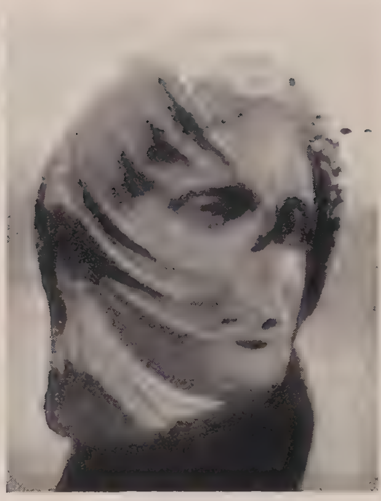
e. Carved Funerary Image (pp. 4–6, 19)

Cemeteries of Cyrene

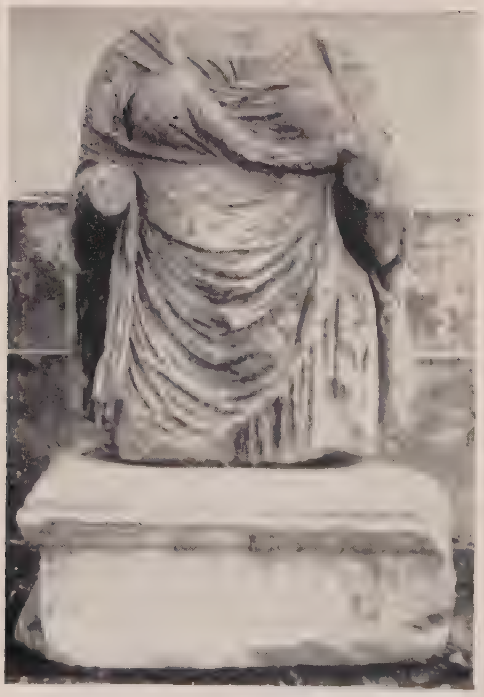
PLATE IX



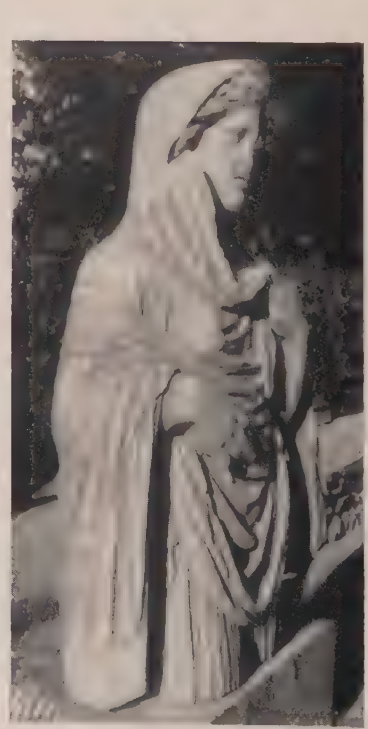
a. FUNERARY STATUE



b. VEILED HEAD FROM A FUNERARY STATUE



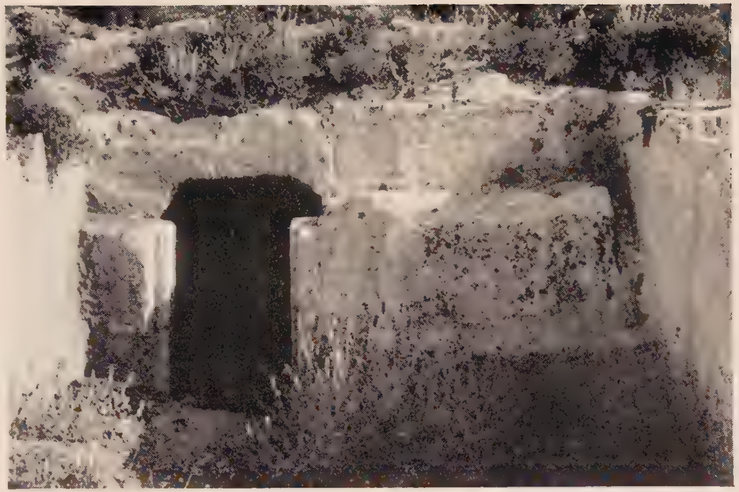
c. FUNERARY STATUE AND BASE



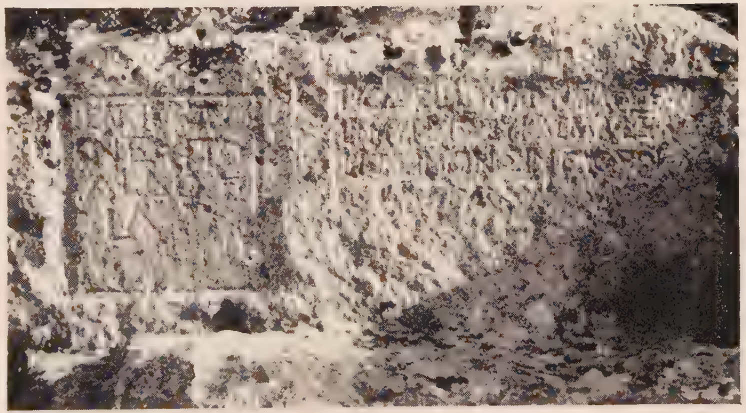
d. FUNERARY STATUE

CEMETERIES OF CYRENE (pp. 4–6) (*Photos: J.S.C.*)

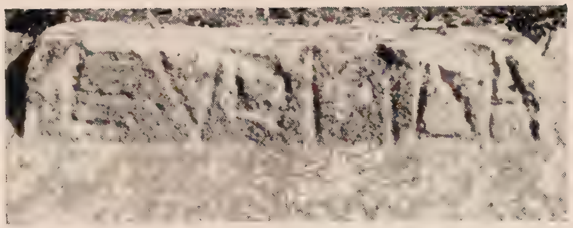
PLATE X


(J.B.W.P.)

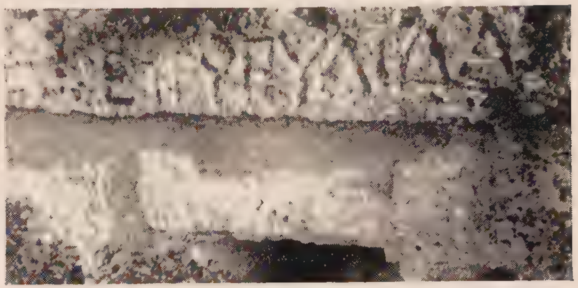
a. Rock-cut Tomb, N 236 (p. 21)


(J.B.W.P.)

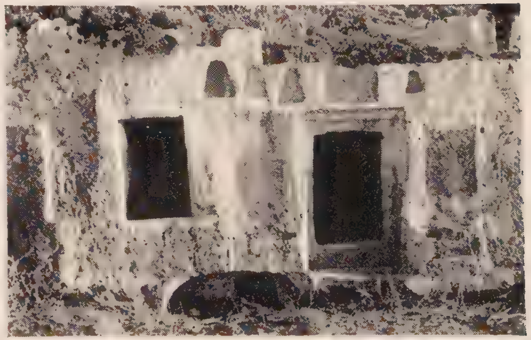
b. Inscriptions on N 236 (p. 21)


(J.S.C.)

c. Inscription on Sarcophagus near N 240 (p. 10)

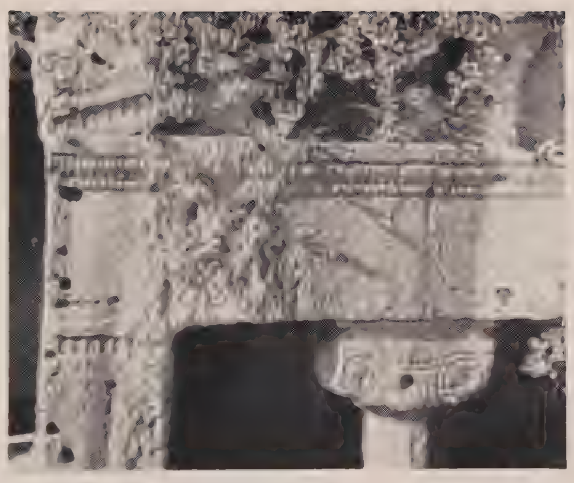

(J.S.C.)

d. Inscription above N 385 (p. 19)

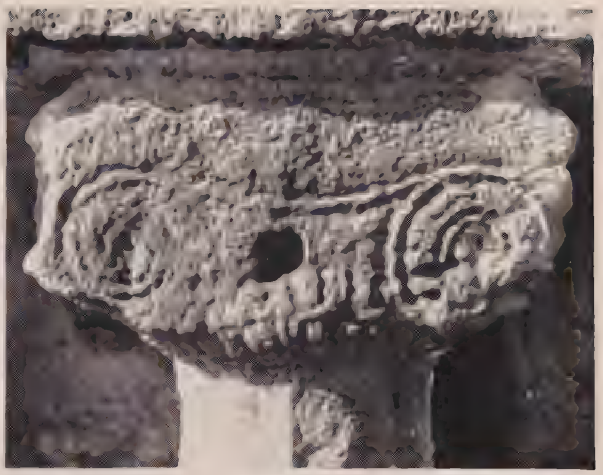

(J.B.W.P.)

e. Rock-cut Tombs in the 'Kinissieh' (N 66) (p. 19)

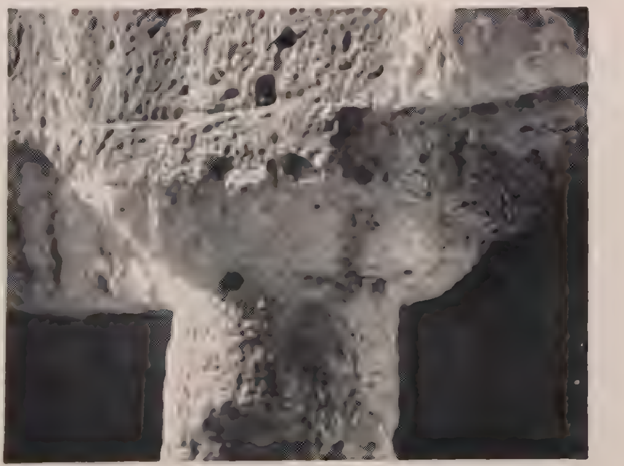
Cemeteries of Cyrene



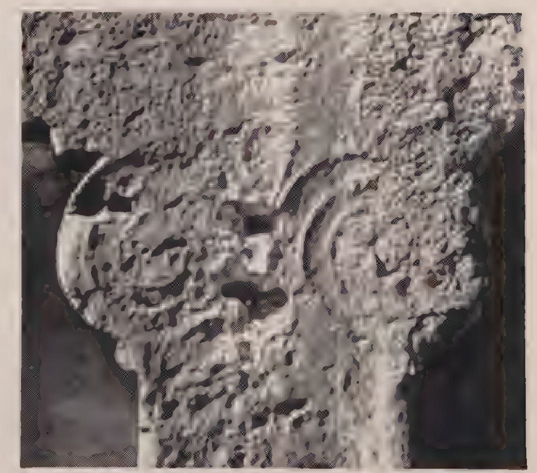
a. Entablature of N 8 (pp. 17 f.)



b. Ionic Capital of N 8 (p. 18)



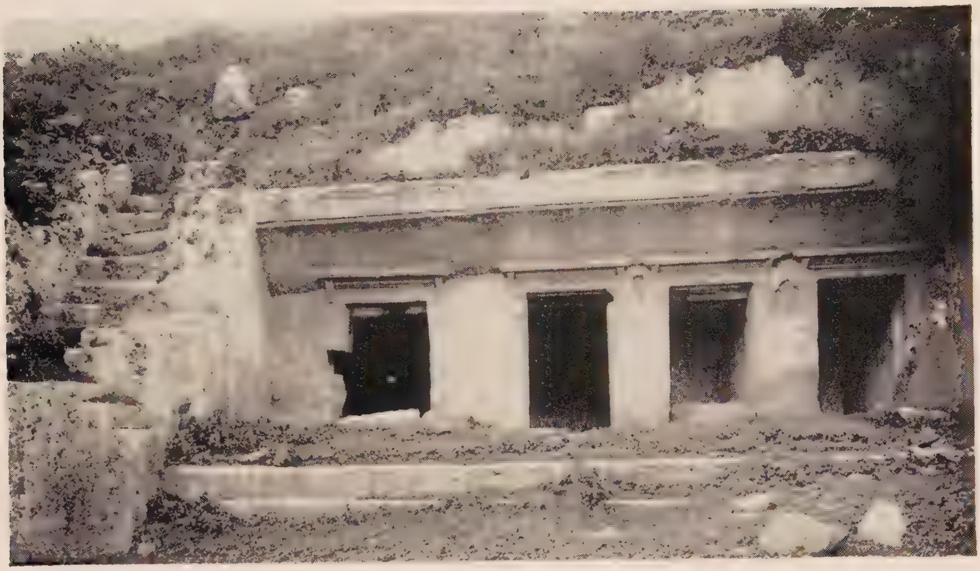
c. Doric Capital of Unfinished Rock-cut Tomb, N 9 (p. 17)



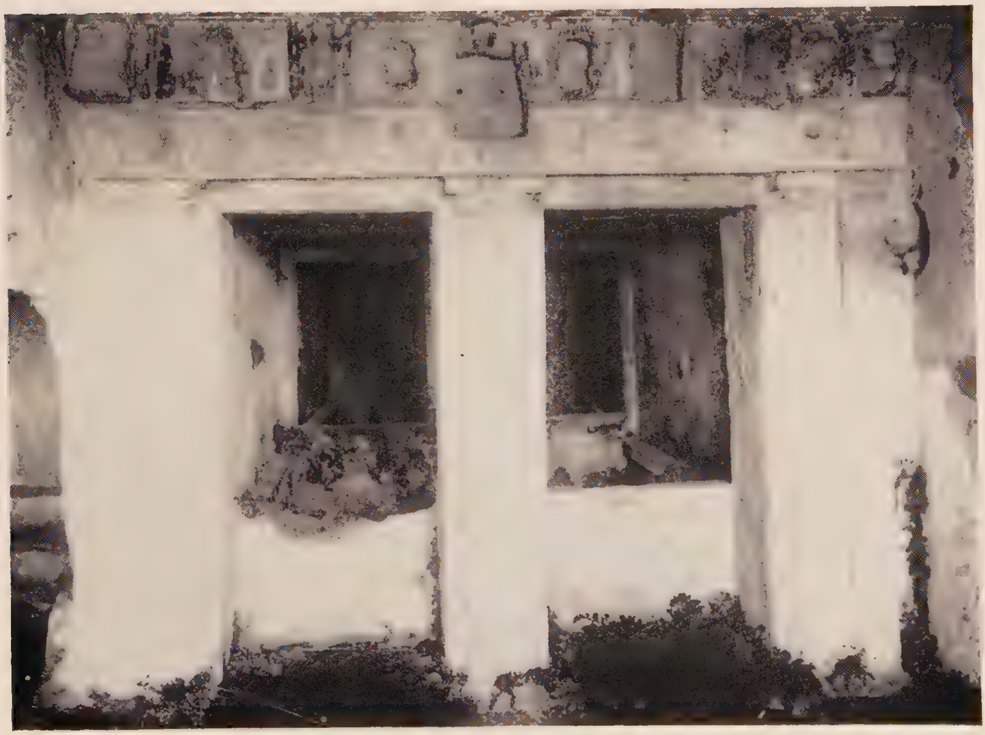
d. Capital of a Pillar of N 3 (pp. 17 f.)

Cemeteries of Cyrene

(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)

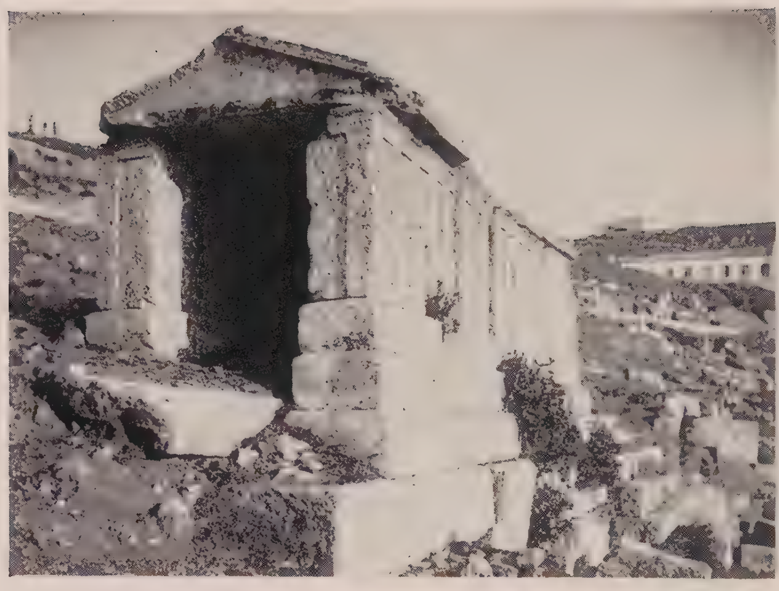


a. Rock-cut Tomb, N 229 (p. 19)

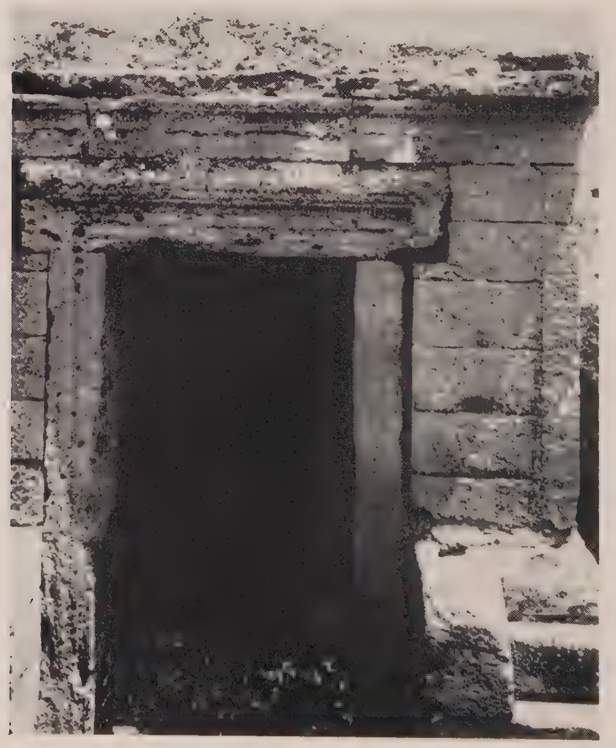


b. Interior Façade of Rock-cut Tomb, W 16 (pp. 6, 20)

Cemeteries of Cyrene (*Photos: Antiquities Department*)

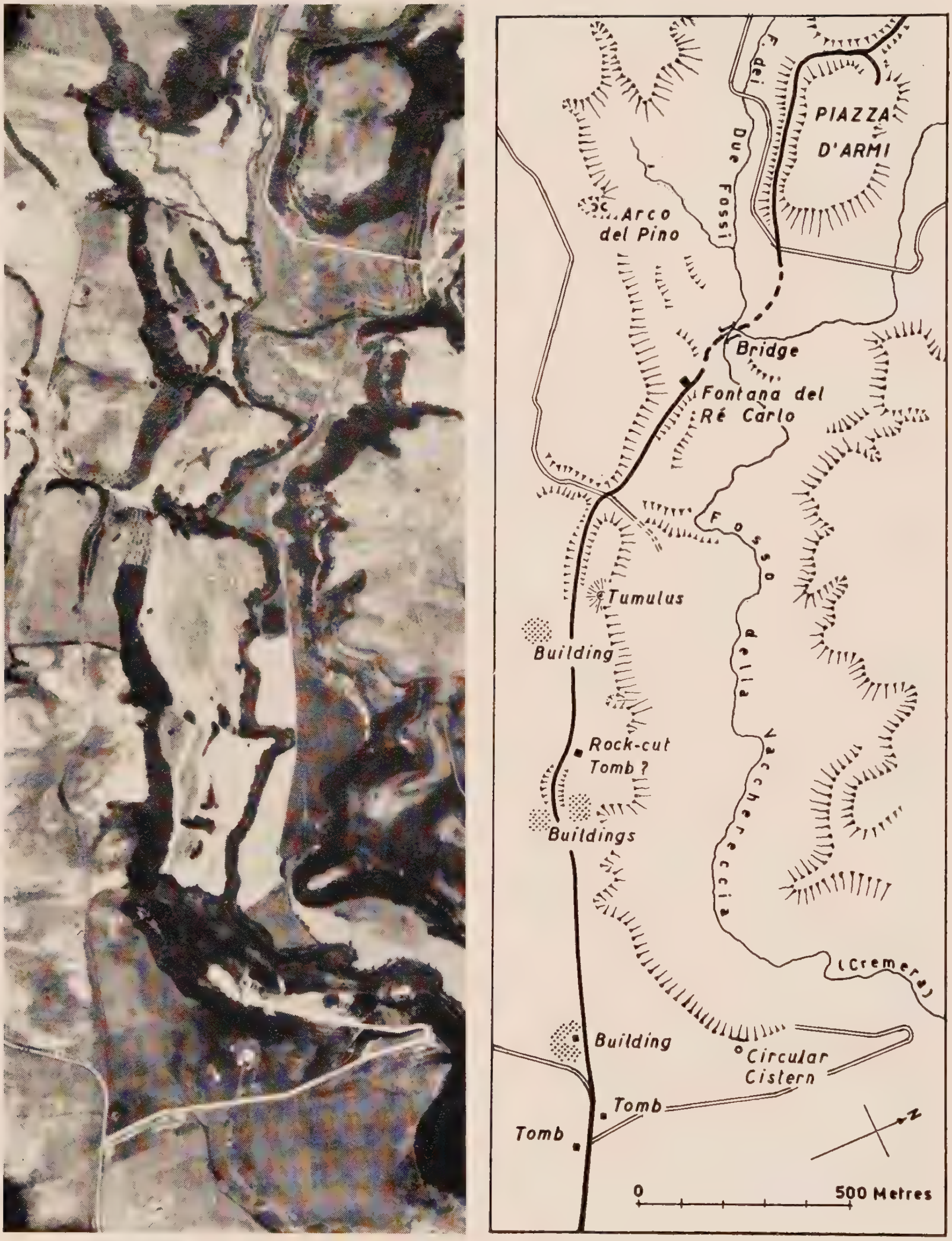


a. Cyrene: Built Rectangular Tomb, N 57 (p. 16)



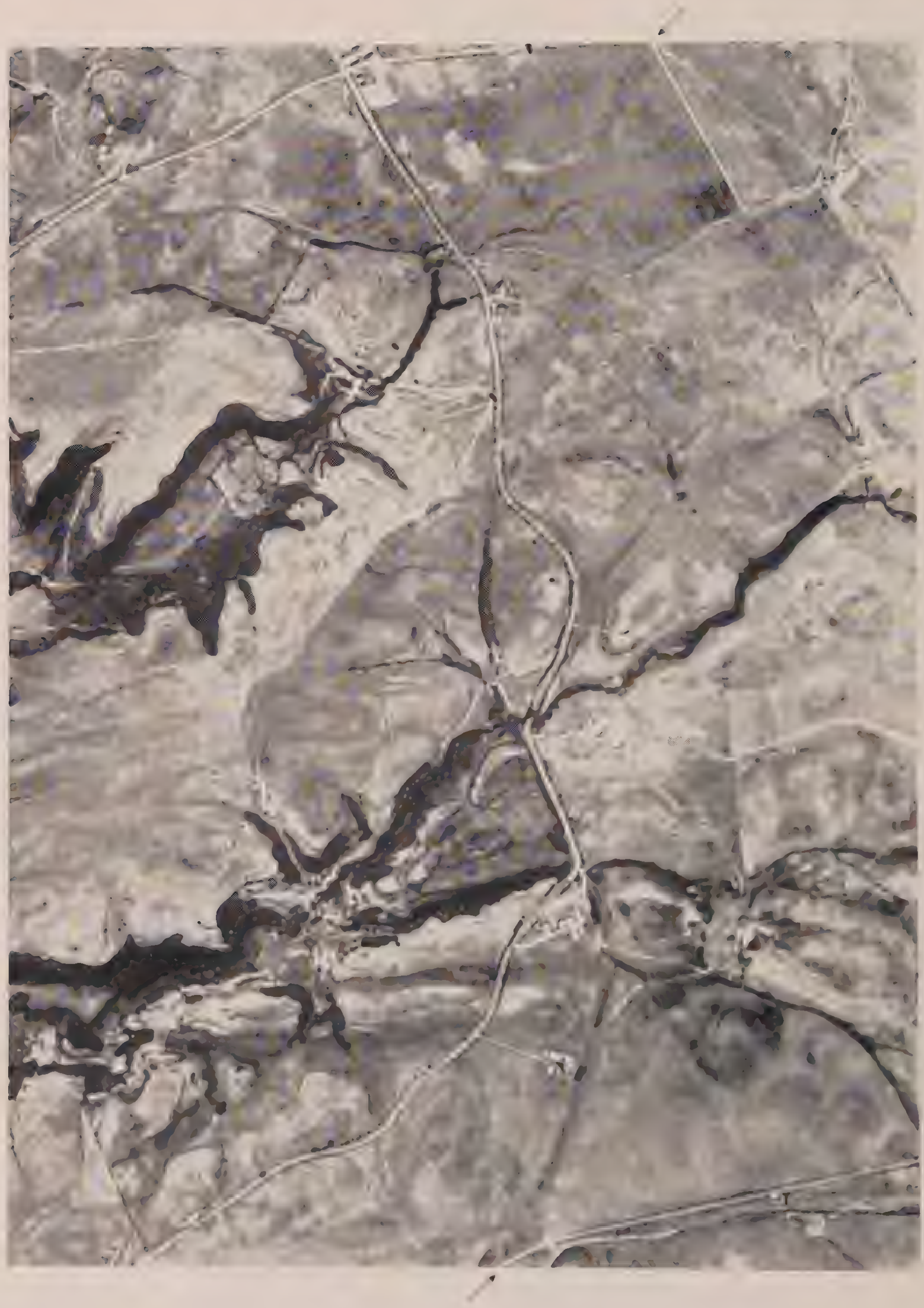
b. Messa: Carved Door of Built Rectangular Tomb (p. 15)

(*Photos: Antiquities Department*)



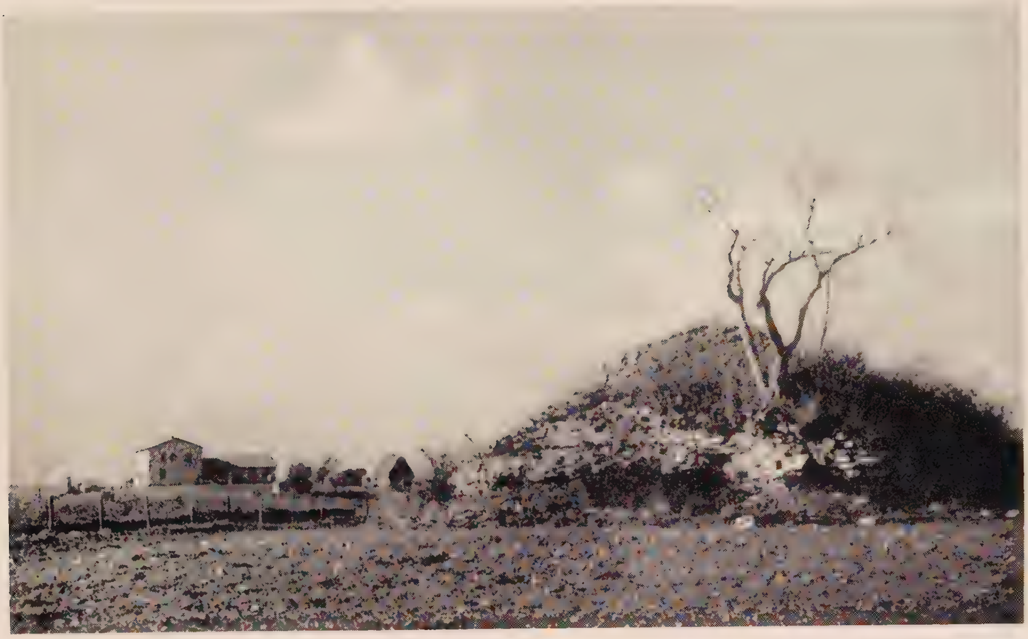
The Via Veientana between Torre Vergata and Veii (pp. 45–58)

(British Crown Copyright—by permission of the Air Ministry)

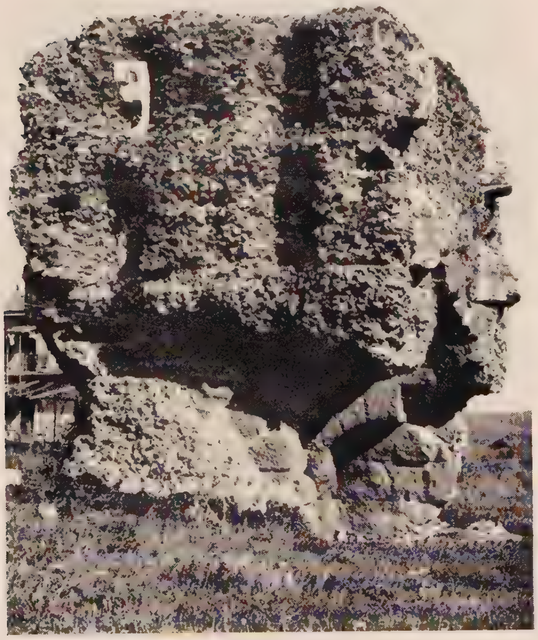


THE VIA CLODIA BETWEEN THE CHAPEL OF SANT' ISIDORO AND OSTERIA NUOVA (cf. Fig. 8, p. 62).
THE ARROWS MARK THE LINE OF THE ANCIENT ROAD
(British Crown Copyright—by permission of the Air Ministry)

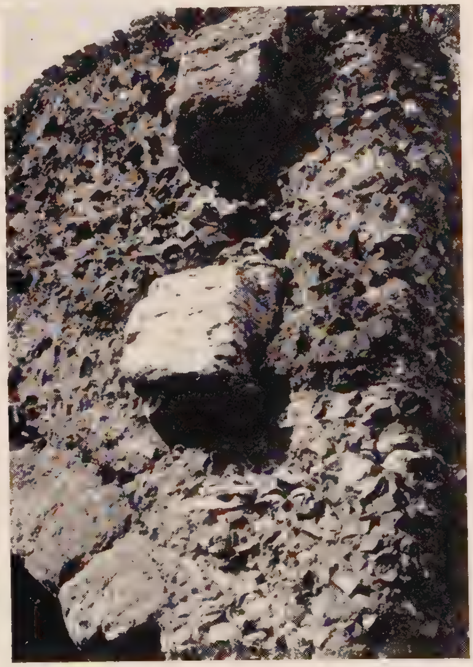
PLATE XVI



a. Tombs beside the Via Veientana, near Torre Vergata (p. 50)

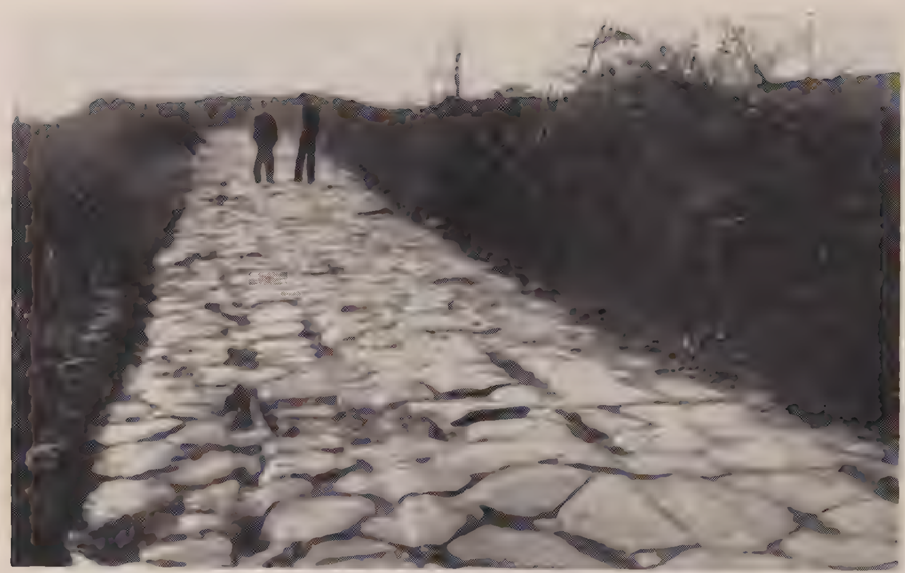


b. Sepolcro dei Vejenti (pp. 47–9)

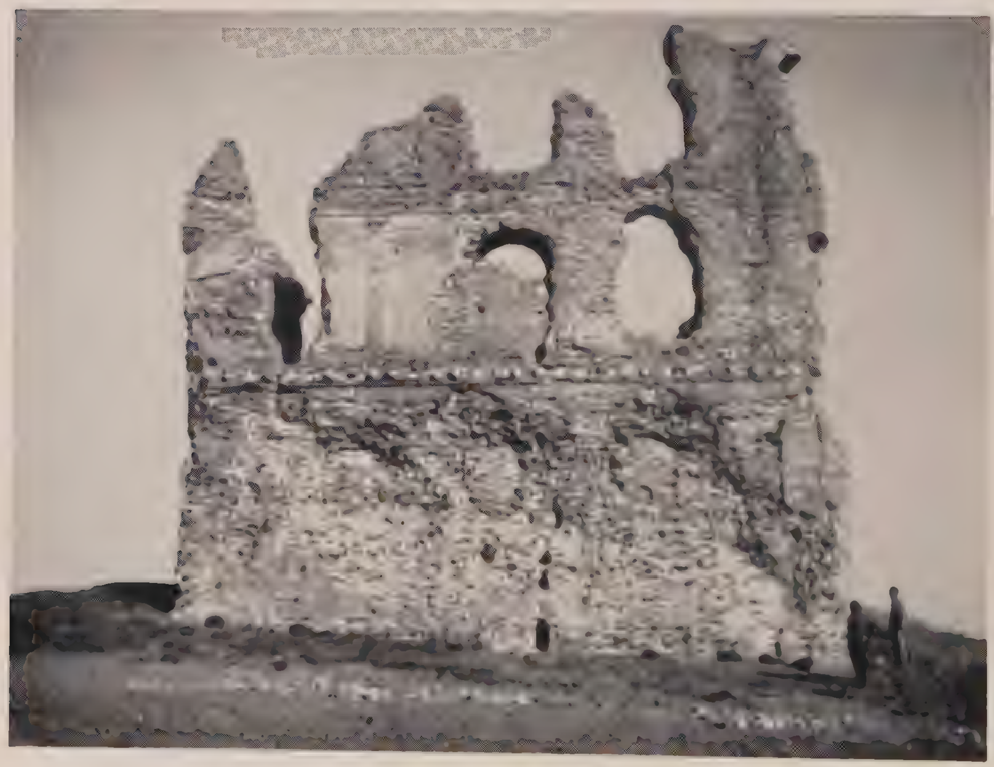


c. Sepolcro dei Vejenti: Detail of Masonry

(*Photos: a, J.B.W.P.; b, c, G.U.S.C.*)

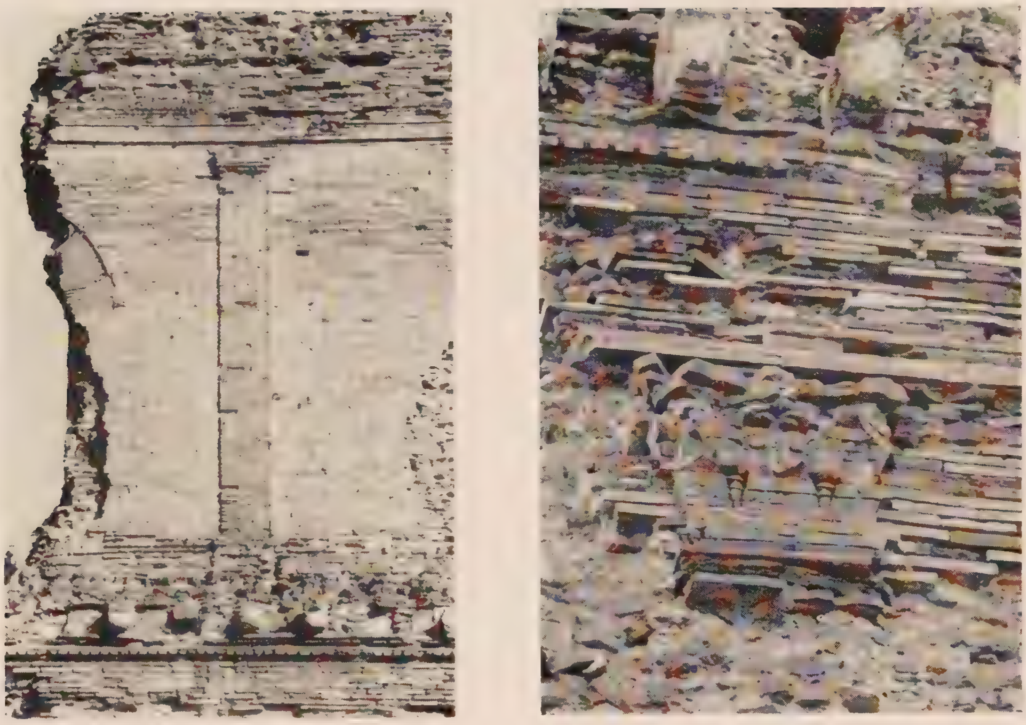


a. The Via Claudia near Le Crocicchie (p. 65)



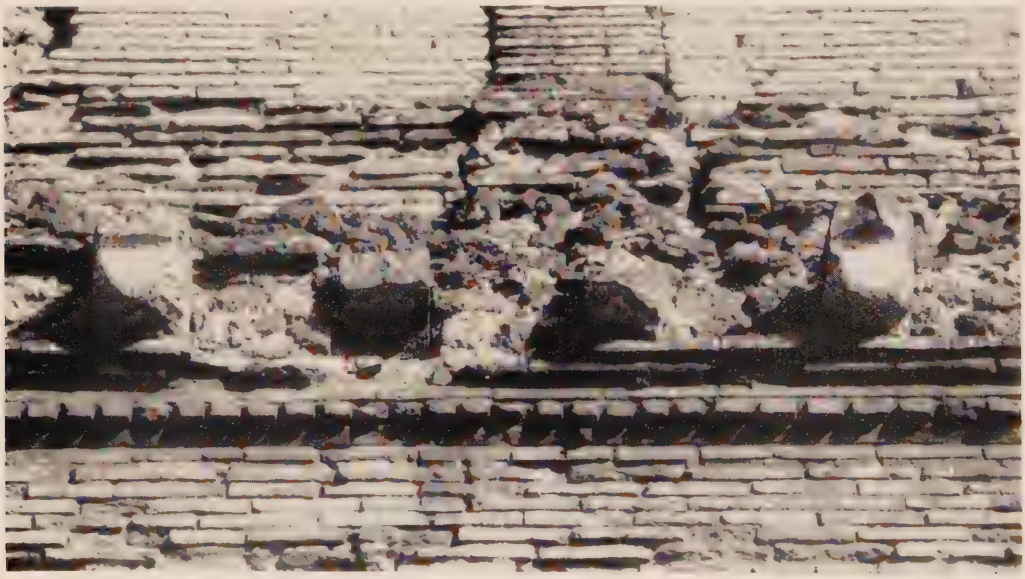
b. Le Mura di Santo Stefano (p. 66)
(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)

PLATE XVIII



a. The Middle Order

b. Capital of the Lower Order

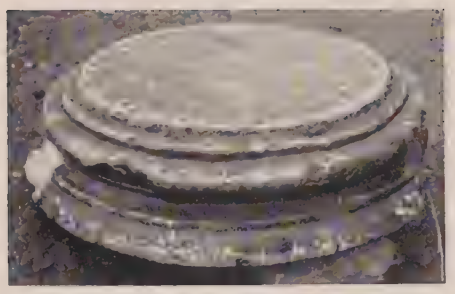


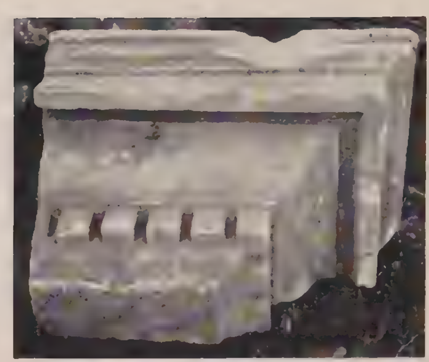
c. Entablature of the Lower Order

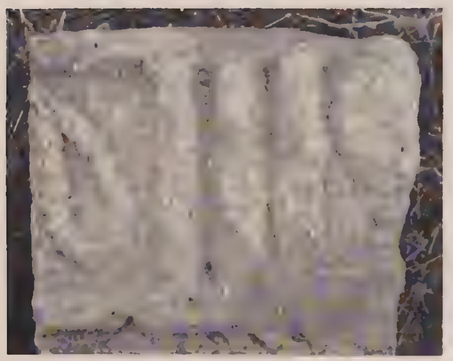
Le Mura di Santo Stefano (p. 66): Masonry Details

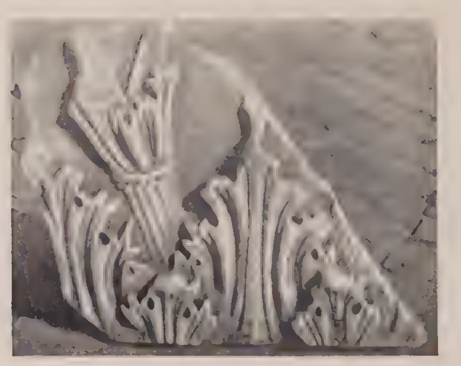
(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)

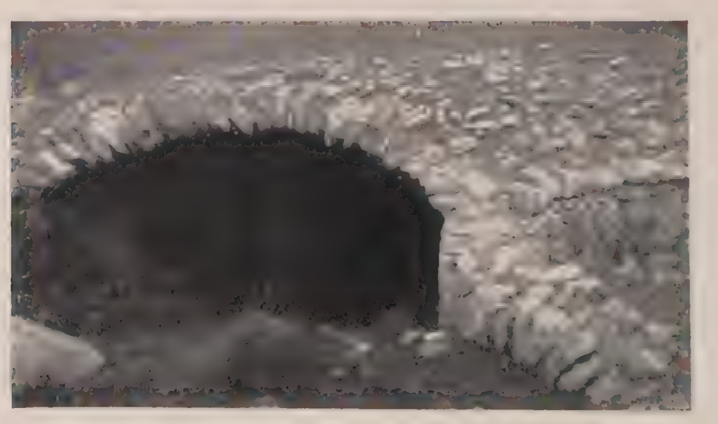
PLATE XIX


a. CAREIAE, MARBLE BASE (p. 64)


b. CAREIAE, MARBLE CORNICE (p. 64)

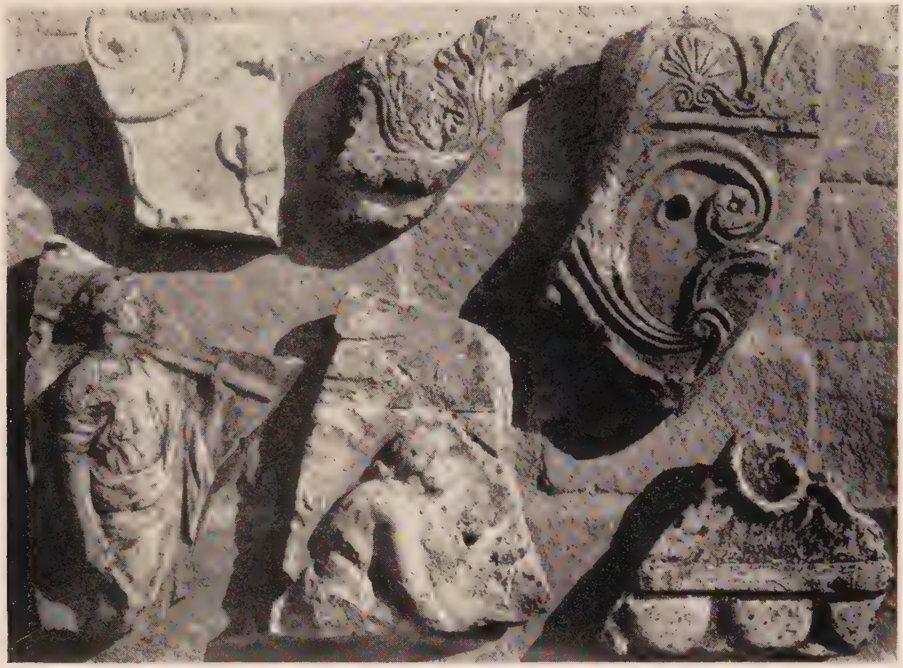

c. RIEZE-BLOCK OF TUFA, BESIDE THE VIA VEIENTANA (p. 52)


d. CAREIAE, MARBLE CAPITAL (p. 64)

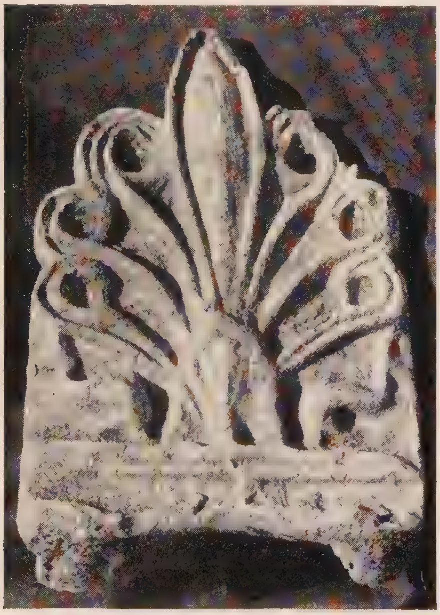

e. CIRCULAR CISTERN NEAR THE VIA VEIENTANA (p. 50)

(*Photos: a–c, e, J.B.W.P.; d, G.U.S.C.*)

PLATE XX

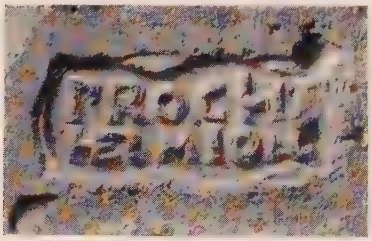


a. Architectural Terracottas from the Via Clodia near Ponte della Buffala (p. 63)



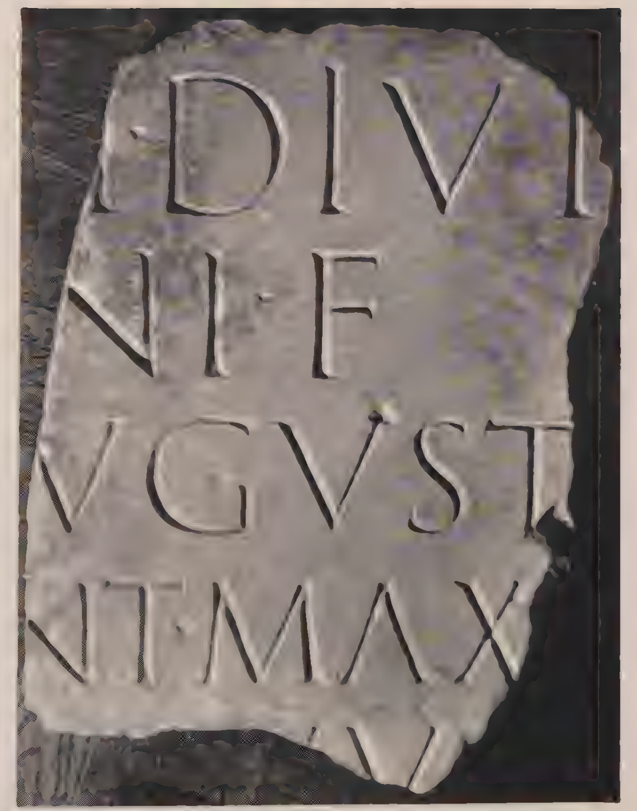
b. Antefix from Careiae (p. 64)

c. Fragmentary Antefix from Via Clodia (p. 66

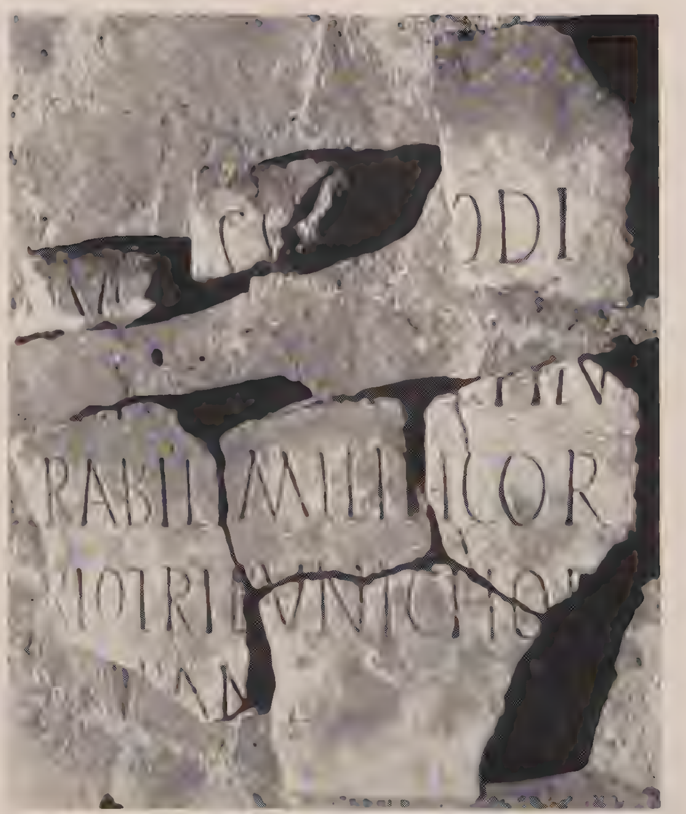


d. Brick-stamp from Careiae (p. 71)

(*Photos: G.U.S.C.*)

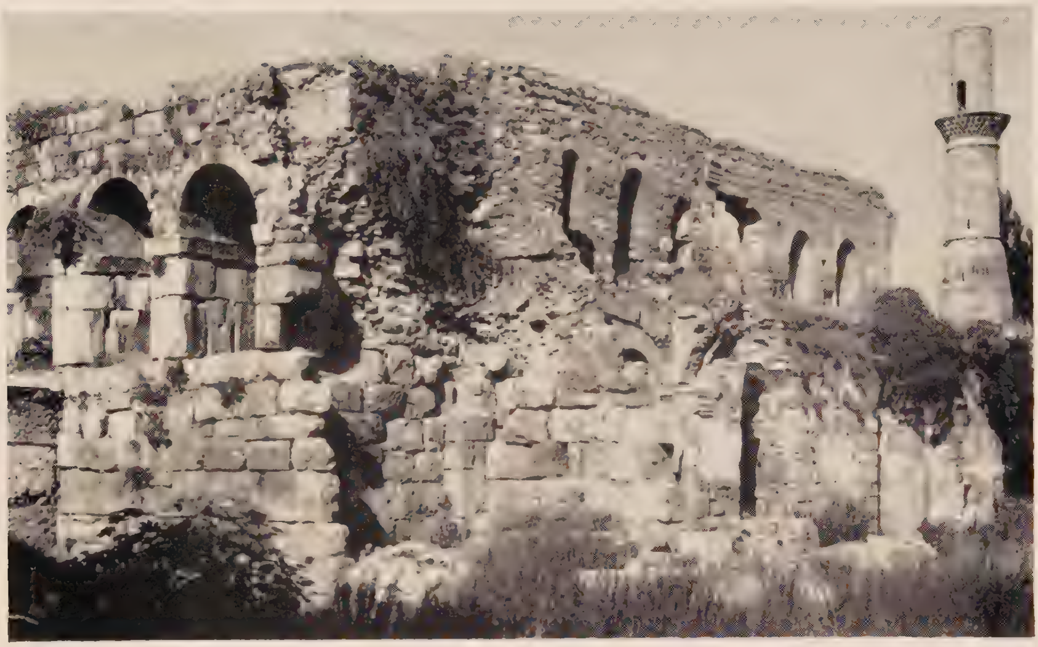


a. Inscription from the Via Flaminia at Grotta Rossa (p. 70)

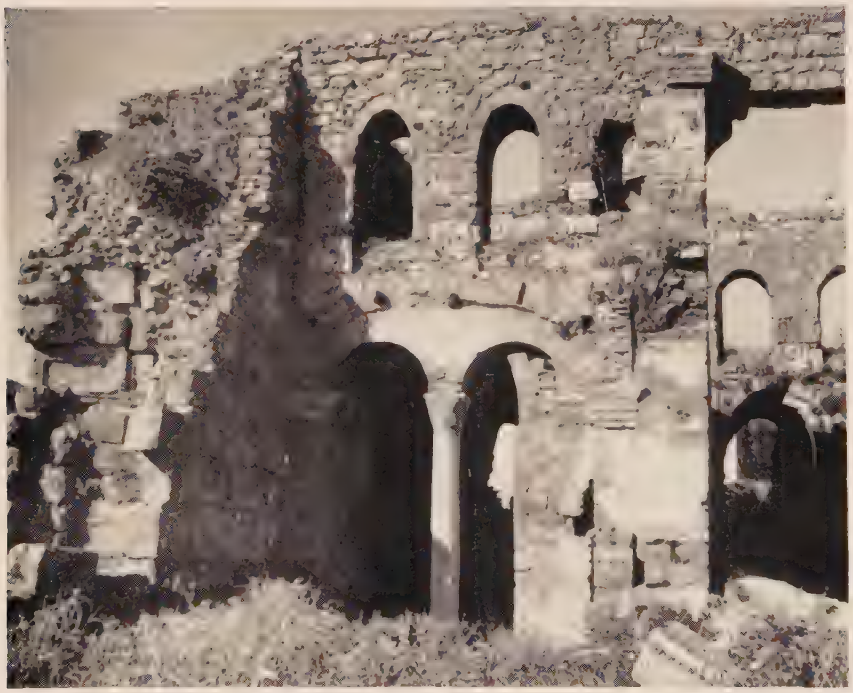


b. Inscription from the Via Clodia near Careiae (p. 63)

(Photos: G.U.S.C.)

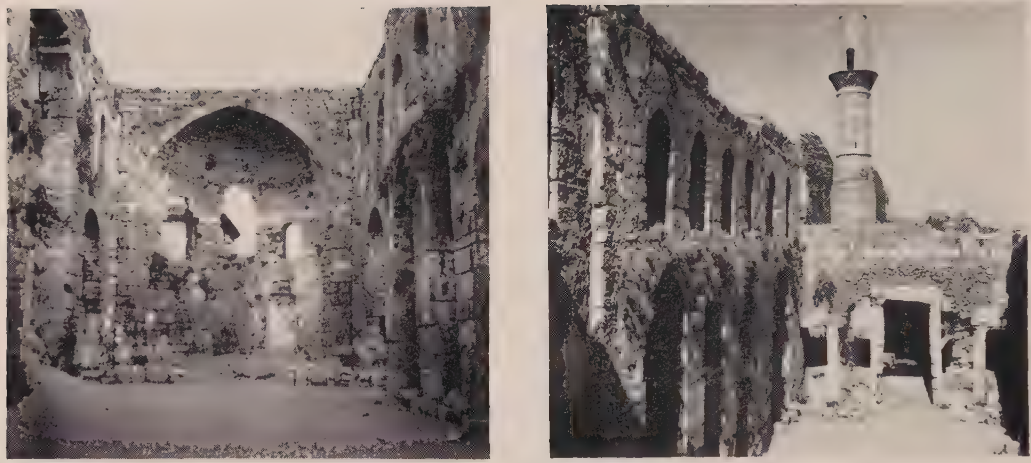


a. The East End, showing (*left*) the Arched Windows of the Original Apse



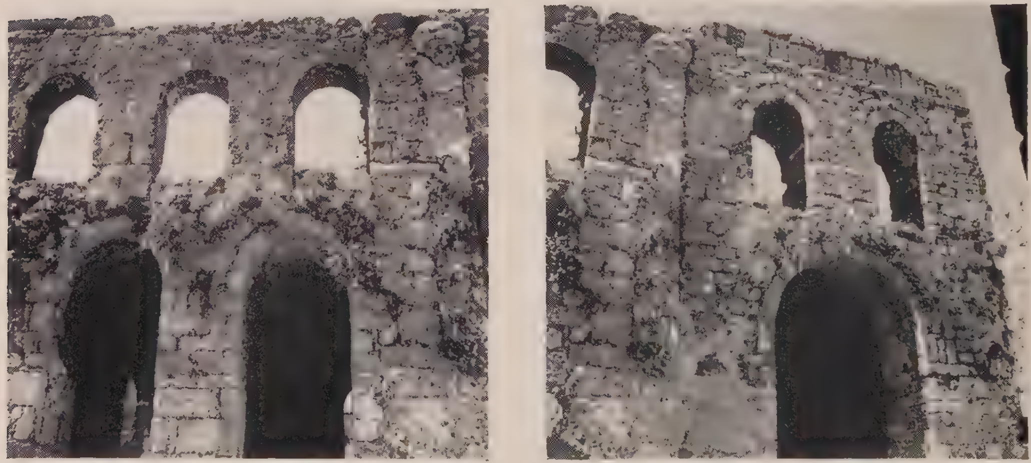
b. The East End, from the North, showing Piers I and IV

Cumanin Cami'i, Antalya (pp. 99–114) (*Photos: M.H.B.*)



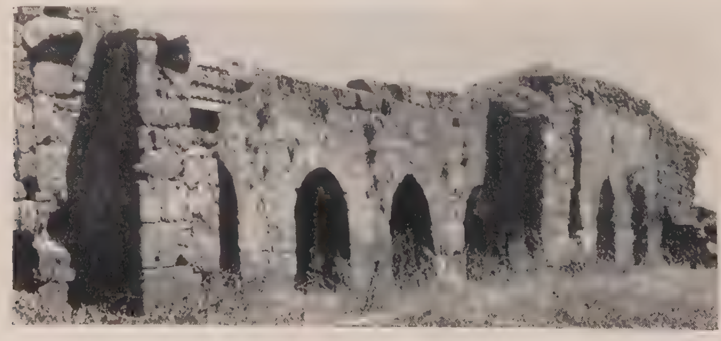
a. INTERIOR, TOWARDS THE APSE

b. INTERIOR, FROM THE APSE



c. ARCHES (PERIOD III) ON SOUTH SIDE OF H

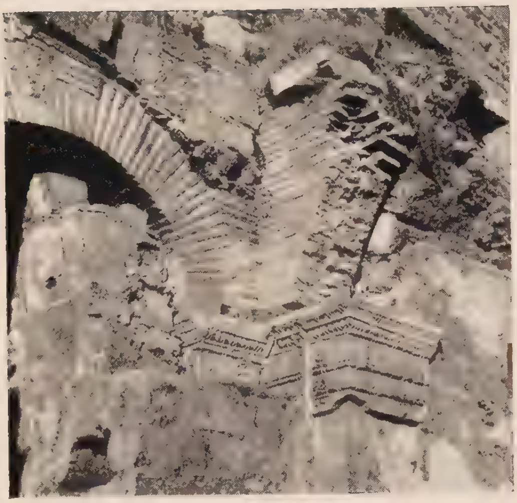
d. ARCHES ON SOUTH SIDE OF L



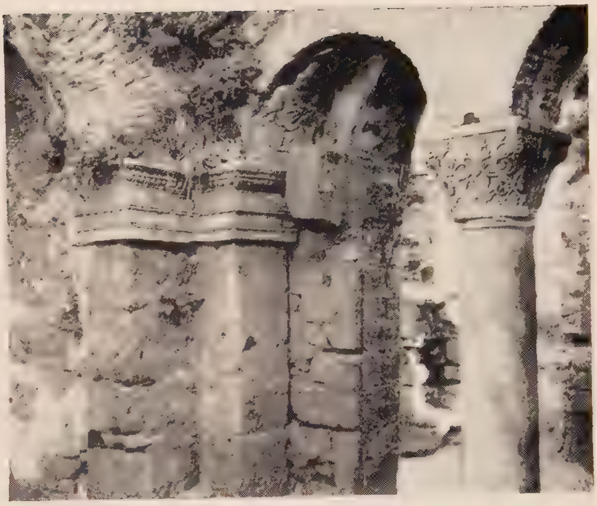
e. UPPER ARCADING OF SOUTH SIDE, FROM THE SOUTH-WEST

CUMANIN CAMI'I, ANTALYA (pp. 99–114)

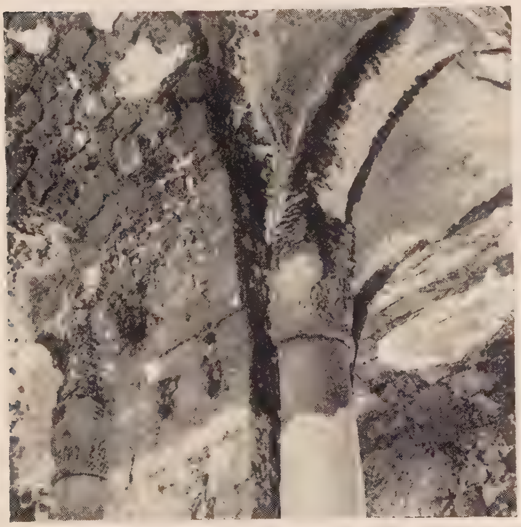
(*Photos: M.H.B.*)



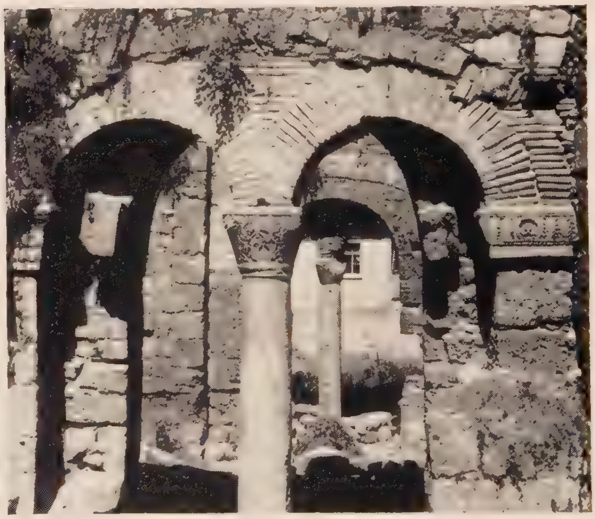
a. Pier IV, from the North-east



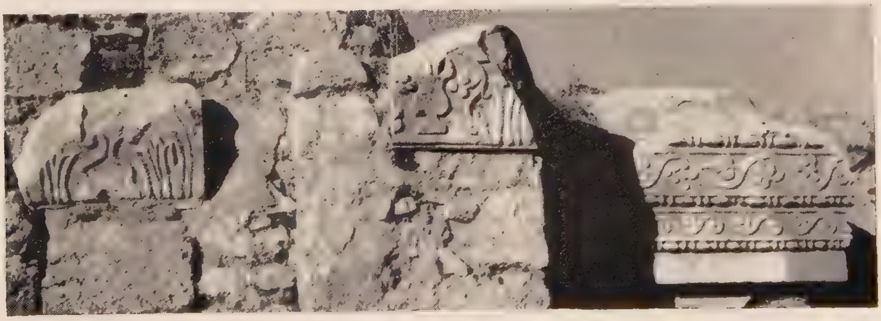
b. South Arcade of D (Period I), with Pier V



c. Columns of South Transverse Arcade, with Later Vaulting



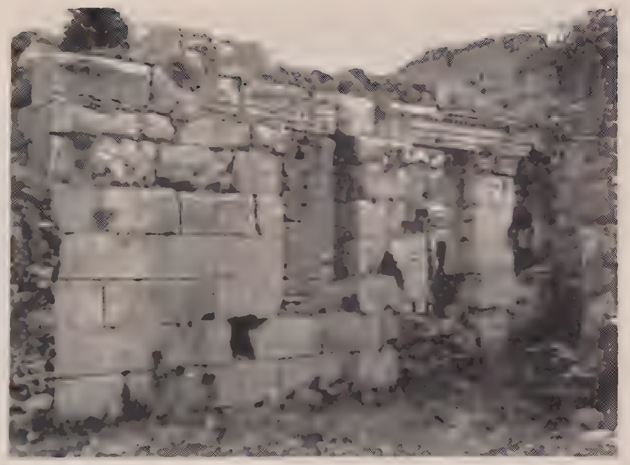
d. Piers V and II, from the South



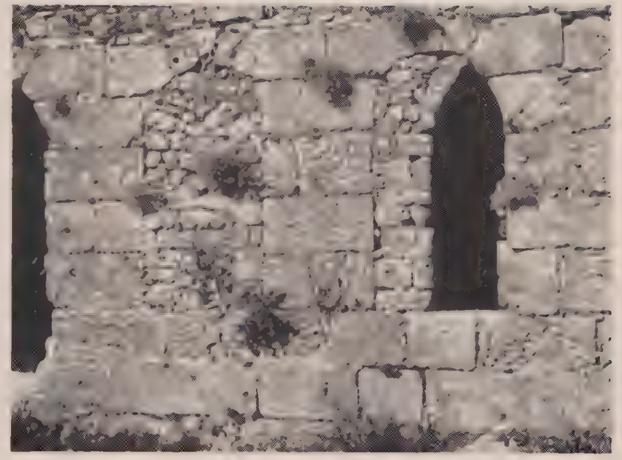
e. Upper Capitals of Pier IX, from the South (p. 105)

Cumanin Cami'i, Antalya (pp. 99–114)

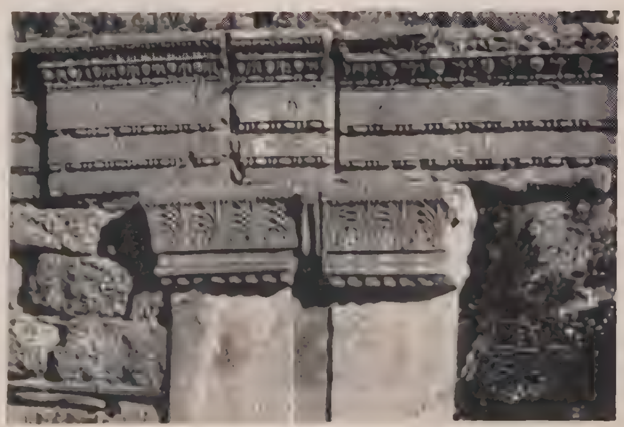
(*Photos: M.H.B.*)



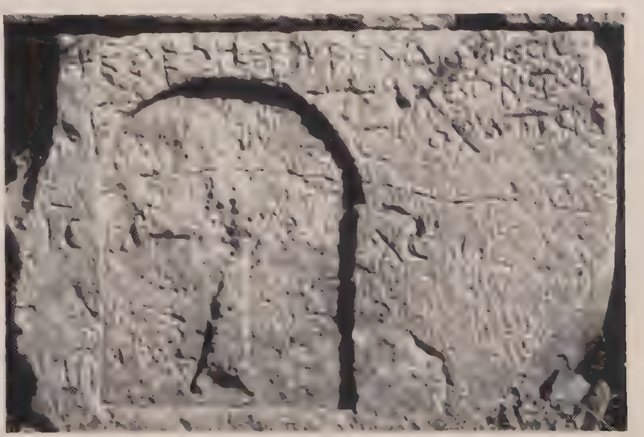
a West Wall and North-west Corner of the Period I Narthex



b Windows in the Outer South Wall



c. West Wall of Narthex, Detail

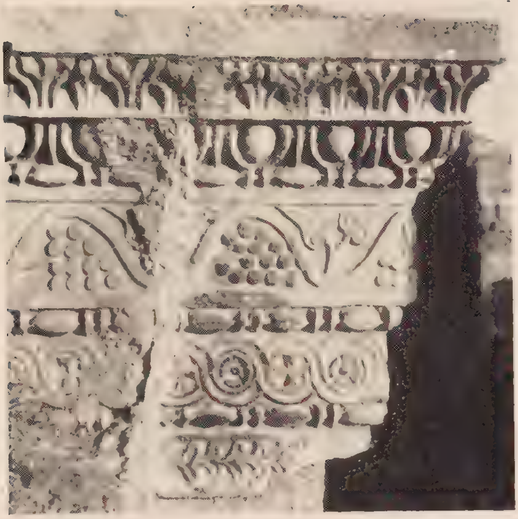


d. Inscription of Leon (p. 112)

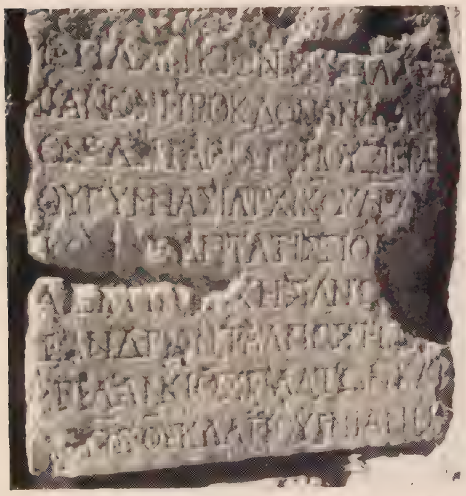
Cumanin Cami'i, Antalya (pp. 99–114)

(*Photos: M.H.B.*)

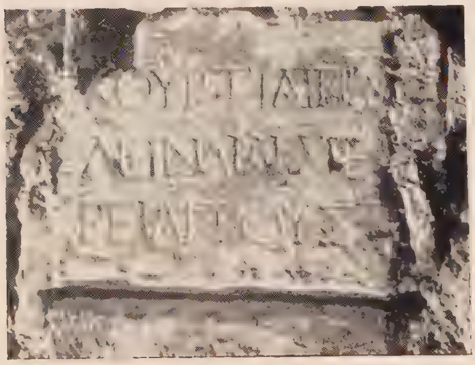
PLATE XXVI

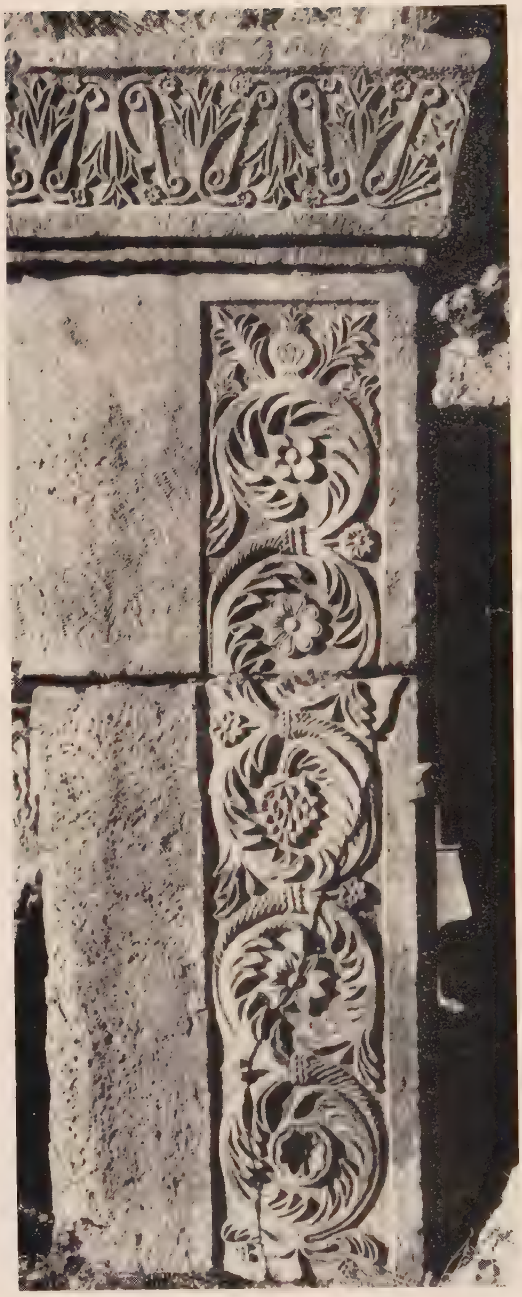


a. Lower Capital of North Arm of Pier IV



b. Inscription to Platonianus p. 111

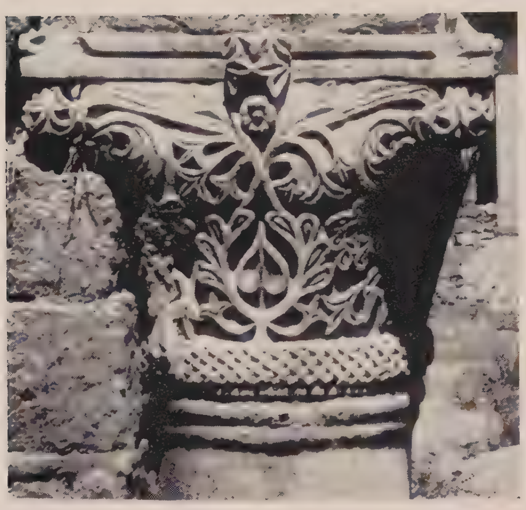




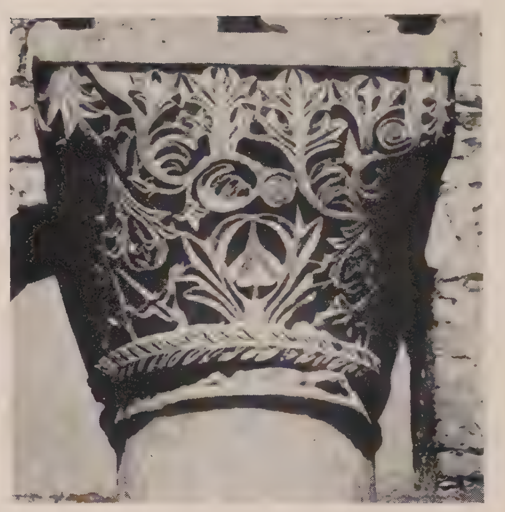
c (*above*). Window-jamb of the Original Apse (p. 105)

d (*left*). Inscription of the Curtiae Paulinae p. 112

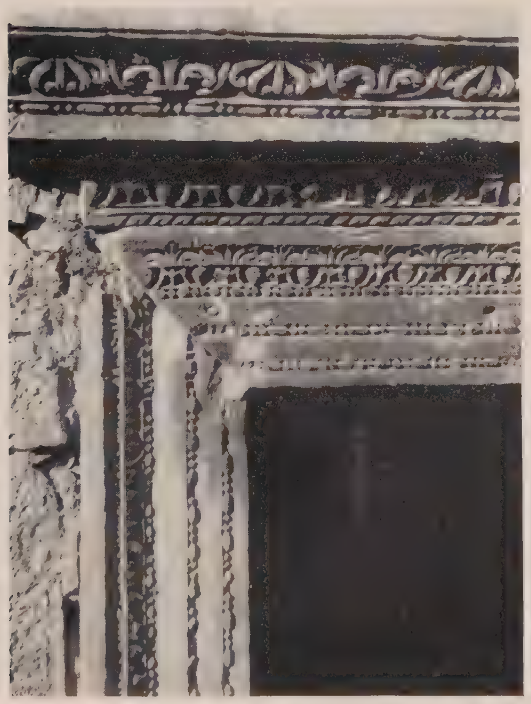
Cumanin Cami'i, Antalya (pp. 99–114) (*Photos: M.H.B.*)

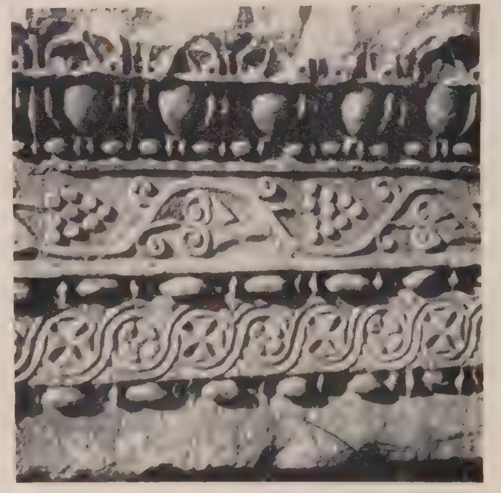


a. Capital of South Transverse Colonnade
(p. 106)



b. Capital of Column to South of D
(p. 105)



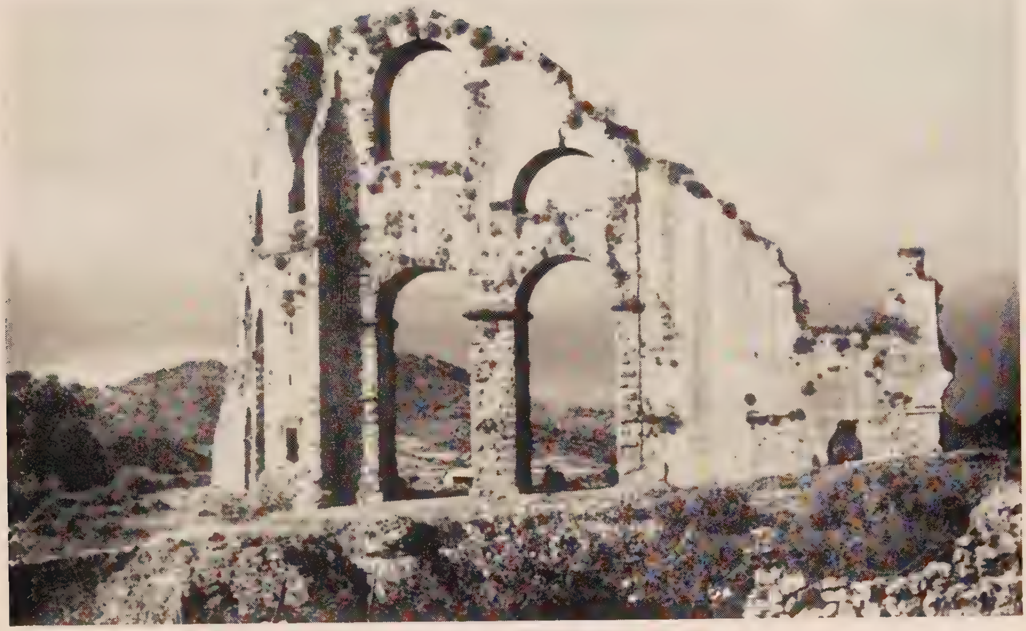


d (*above*). Capital, probably from Pier III

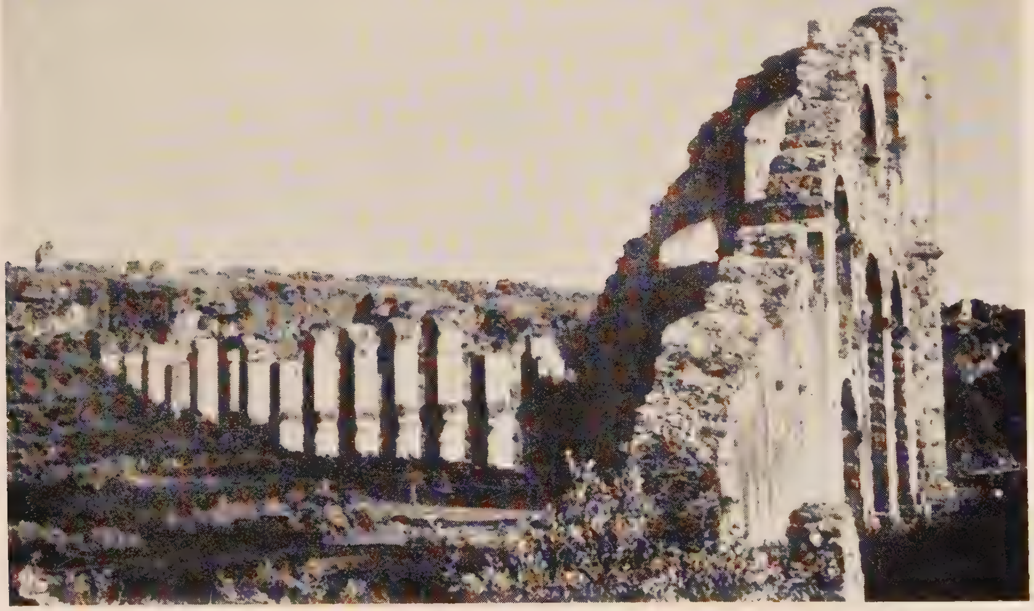
c (*left*). South Outer Door, Detail

Cumanin Cami'i, Antalya (pp. 99–114)

(*Photos: M.H.B.*)



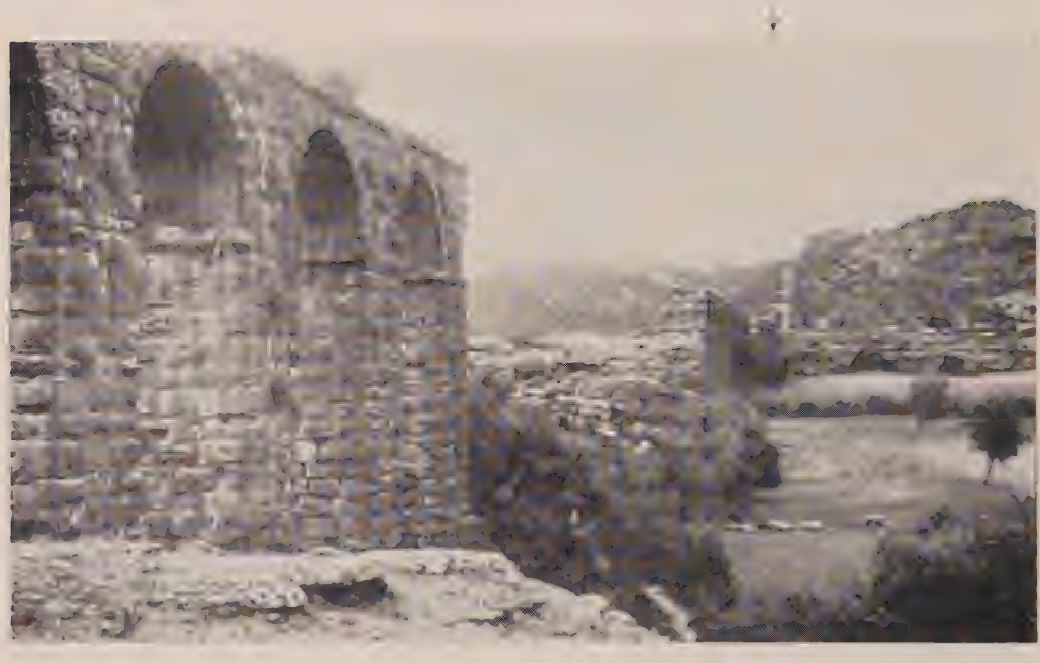
a. The South Pressure-tower, Looking North



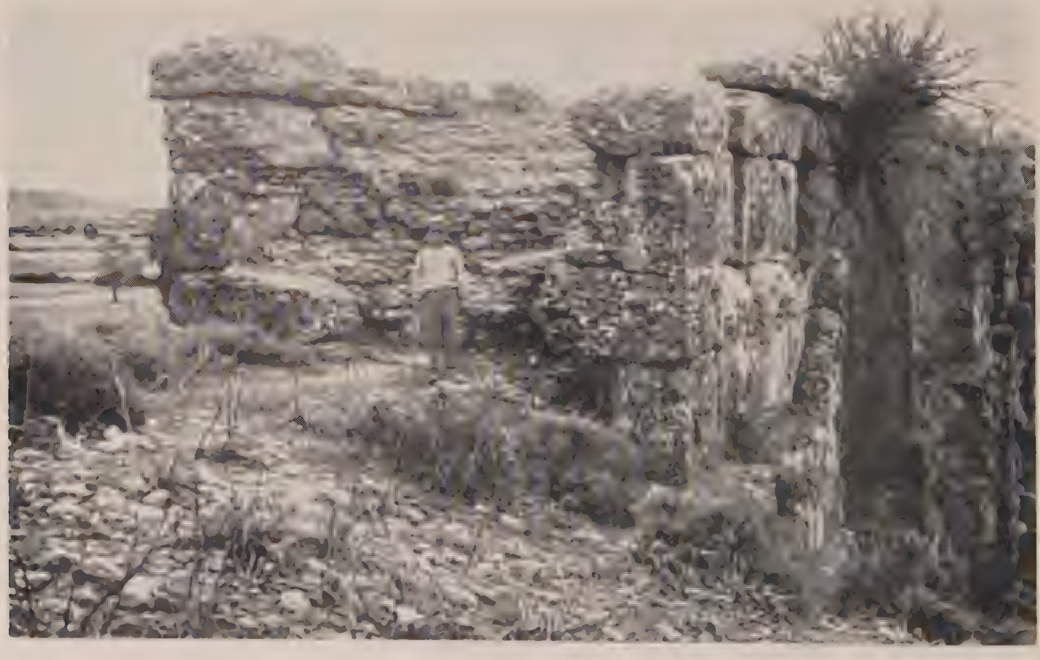
b. The South Pressure-tower, Looking towards the Acropolis

The Aqueduct at Aspendos (pp. 115–123)

(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)



a. The Main Bridge, Looking North across the Valley towards the North Pressure-tower
(*marked with arrow*)

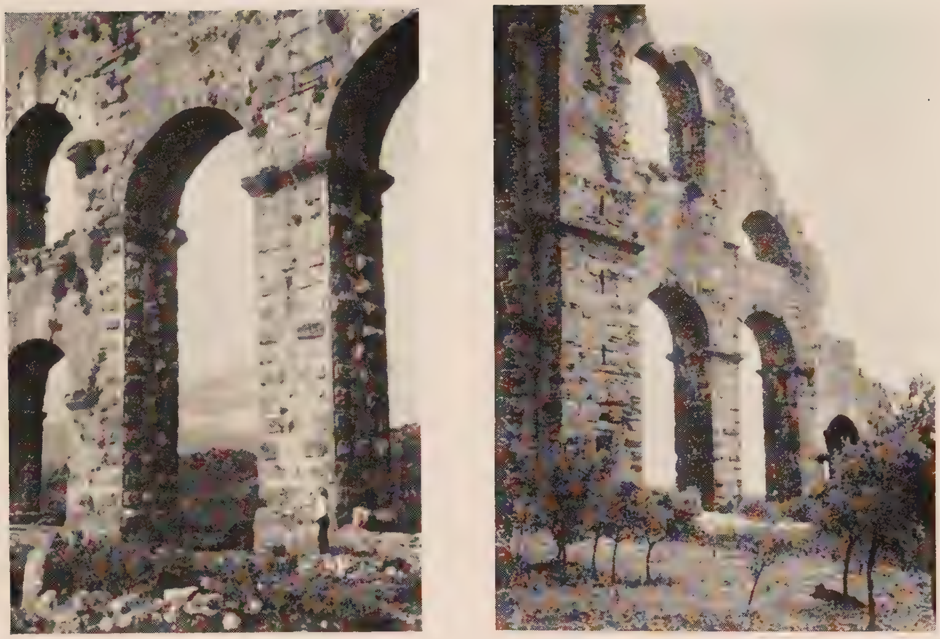


b. The Main Bridge, North Abutment, showing Mortared Rubble Core

The Aqueduct at Aspendos (pp. 115–123)

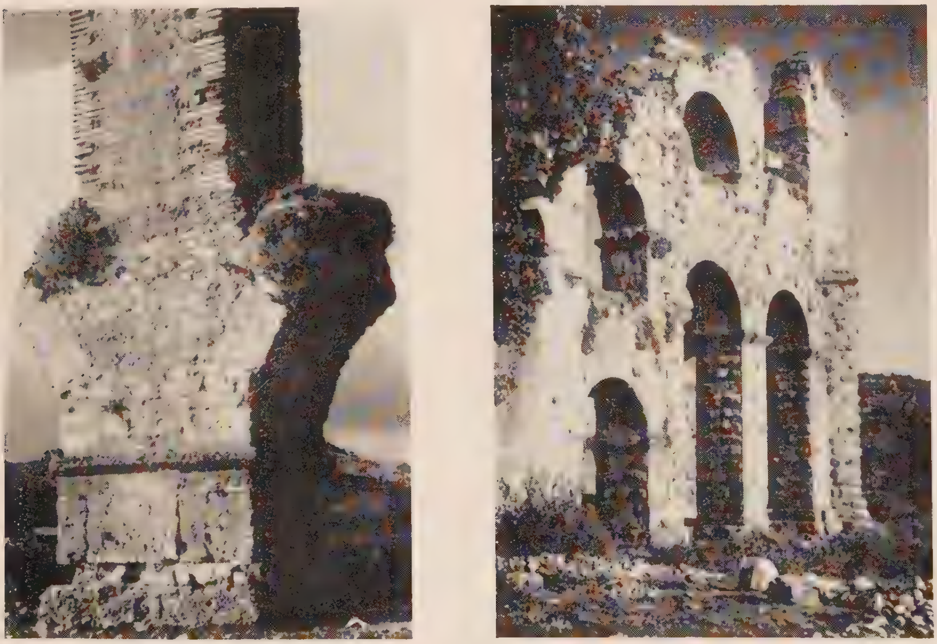
(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)

PLATE XXX



a. South Pressure-tower

b. North Pressure-tower

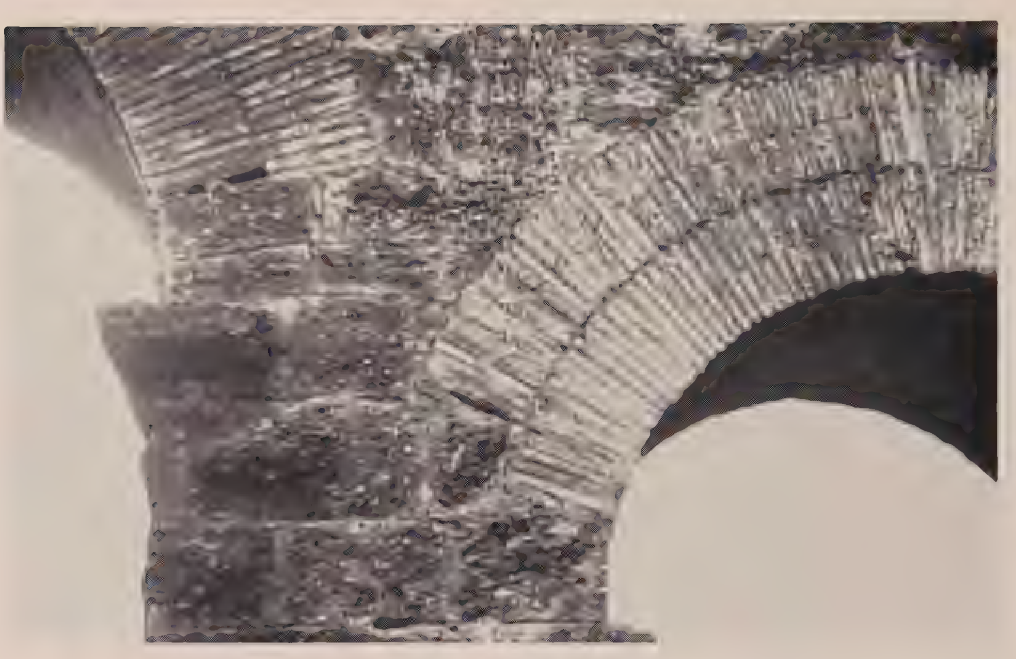


c. Pier of South Bridge

d. South Pressure-tower

The Aqueduct at Aspendos (pp. 115–123)

(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)



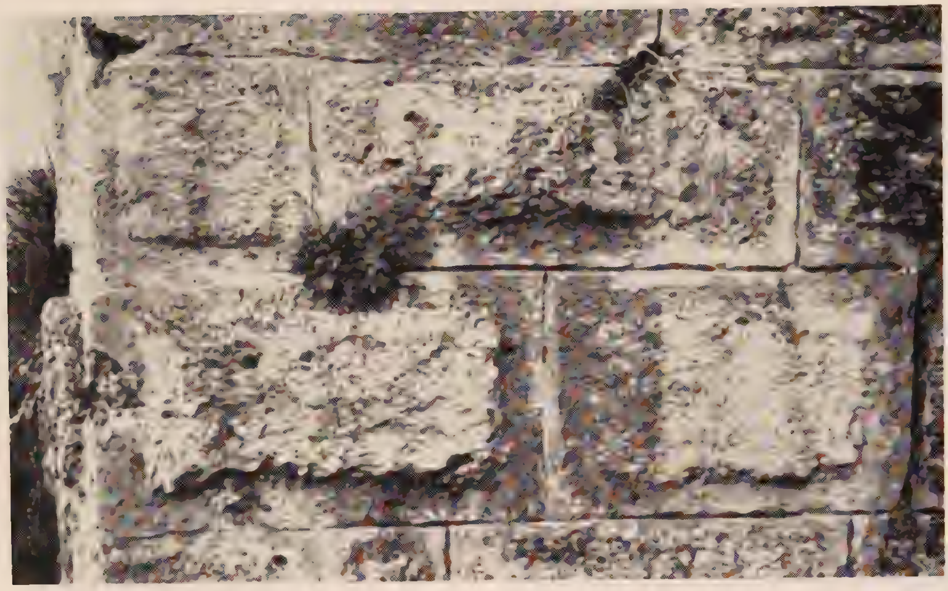
a. Stone Pier, Brick Arches, and (*above*) Mortared Rubble

b. Masonry of South Ramp

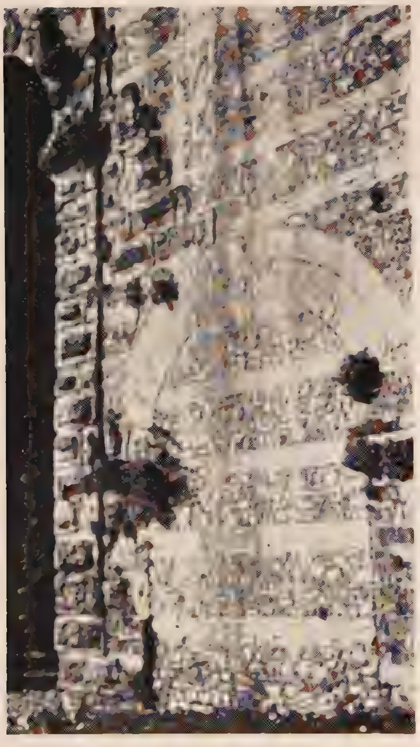
c. Stone Pier

The Aqueduct at Aspendos: North Pressure-tower (pp. 119–121)

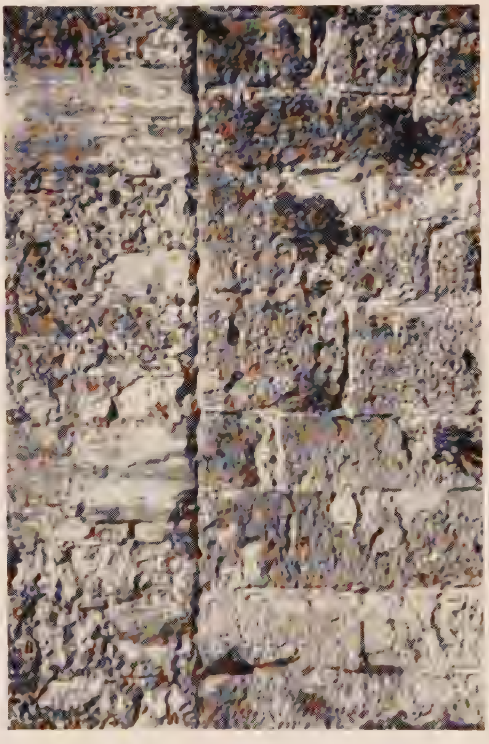
(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)



a. Masonry of Pier of Main Bridge (p. 119)



b. South Pressure-tower, Blocked Arch (p. 121)

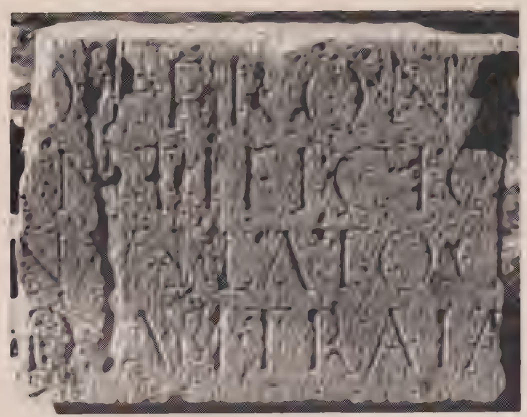


c. Detail of Blocked Arch adjoining *b* (p. 121)

The Aqueduct at Aspendos

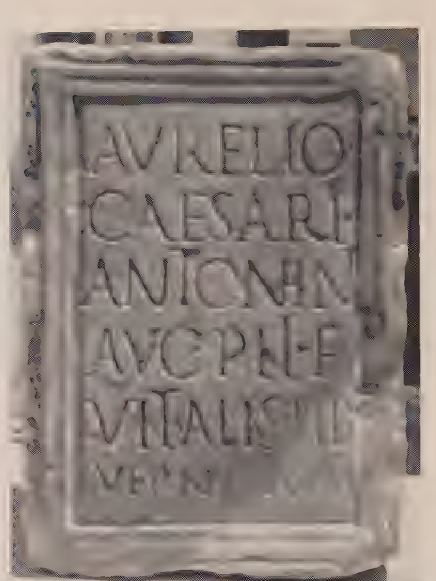
(*Photos: J.B.W.P.*)

PLATE XXXIII



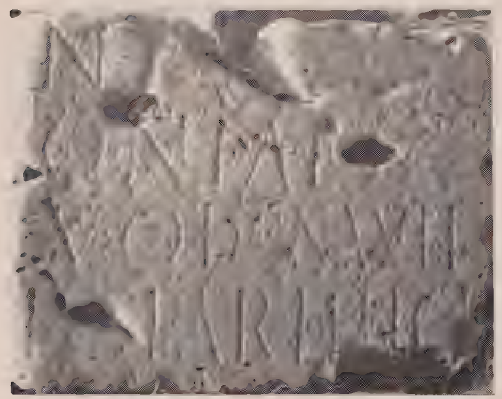
(*Dept. of Antiquities*)

a. IRT 624, Block 1 (p. 131 f.)



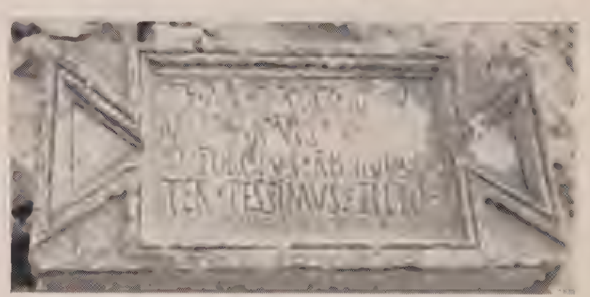
(*RSK*)

c. S 4 (p. 139)



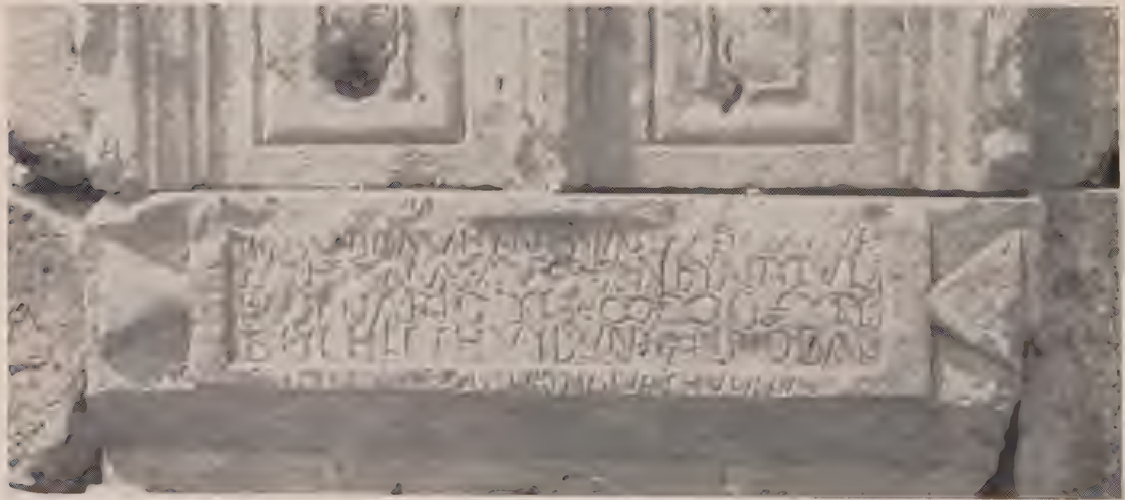
(*Brogan*)

b. IRT 624, Block 2 (p. 131 f.)



(*Oates*)

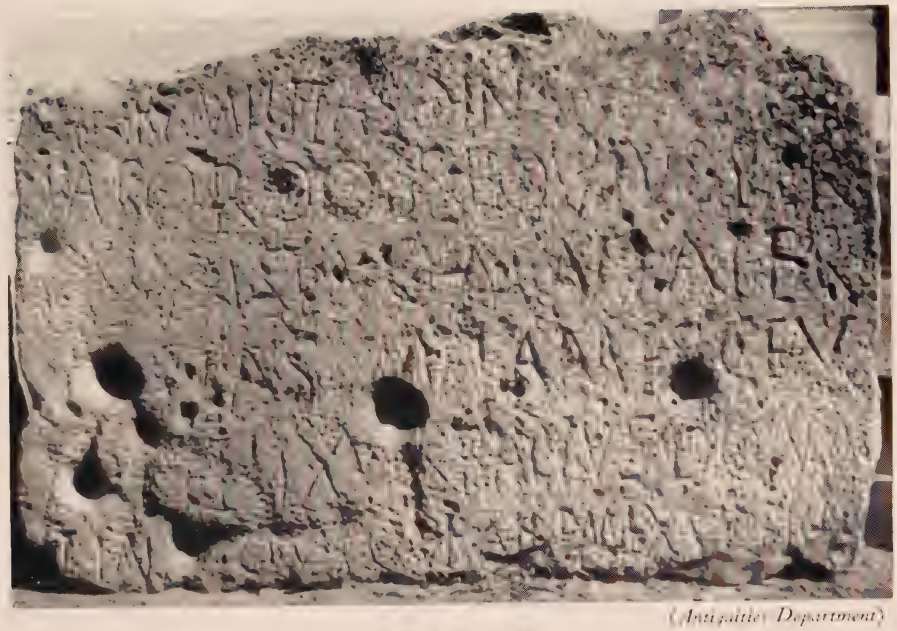
d. S 17 (p. 137)



(*Brogan*)

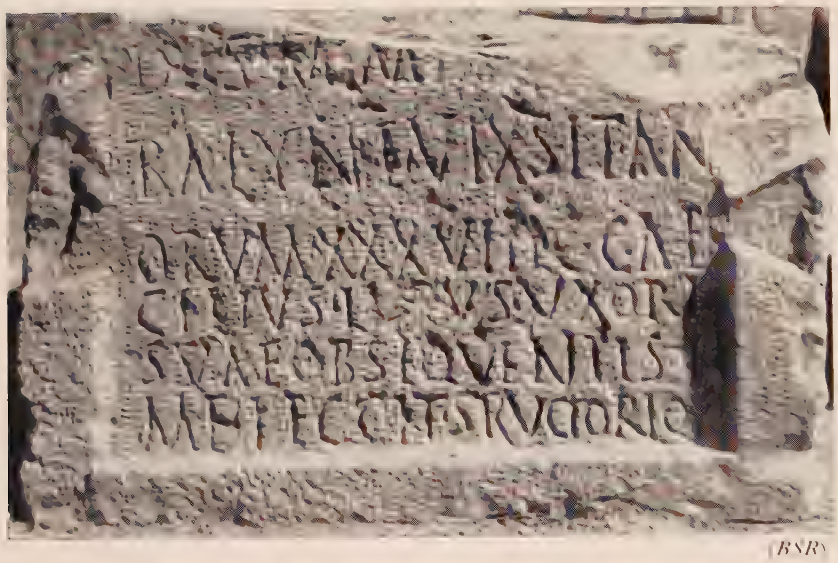
e. IRT 906 (p. 141 f.)

Tripolitanian Inscriptions



(Antiquities Department)

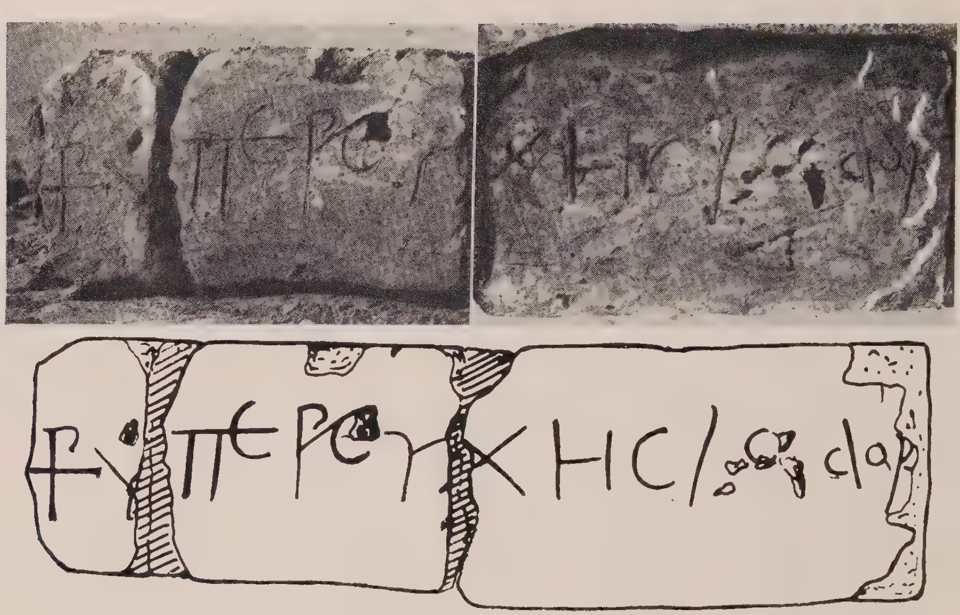
a. S 19 (p. 138)



(BSR)

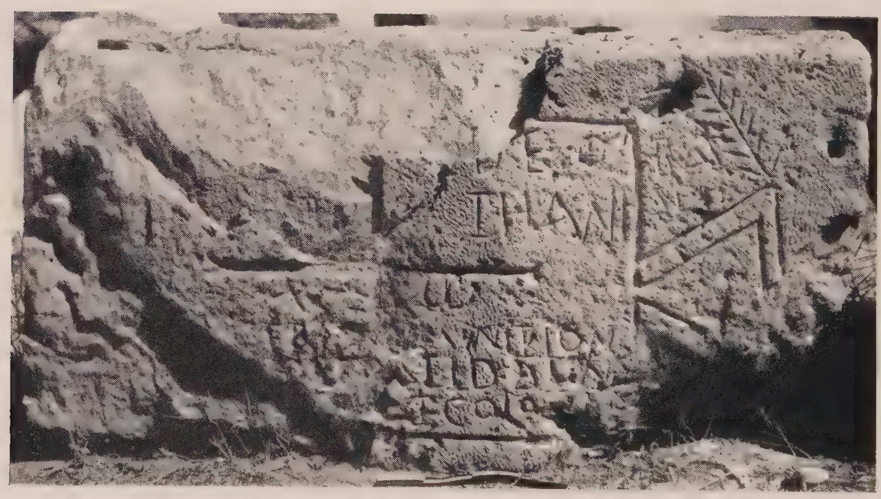
b. S 18 (p. 137)

Tripolitanian Inscriptions



(*Antiquities Department*)

a. S 11 (p. 129)

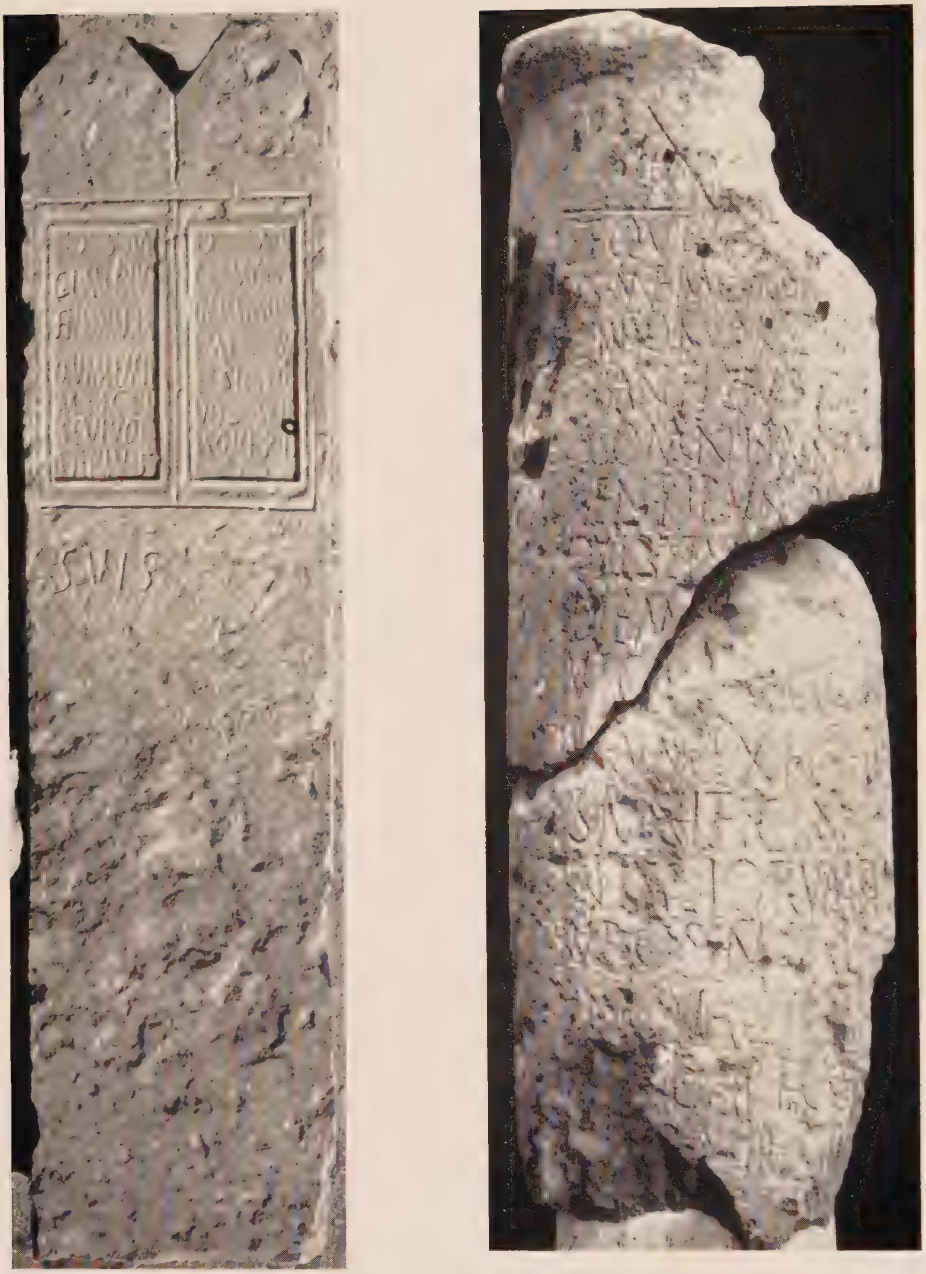


(*Oates*)

b. S 16 (p. 136 f.)

TRIPOLITANIAN INSCRIPTIONS

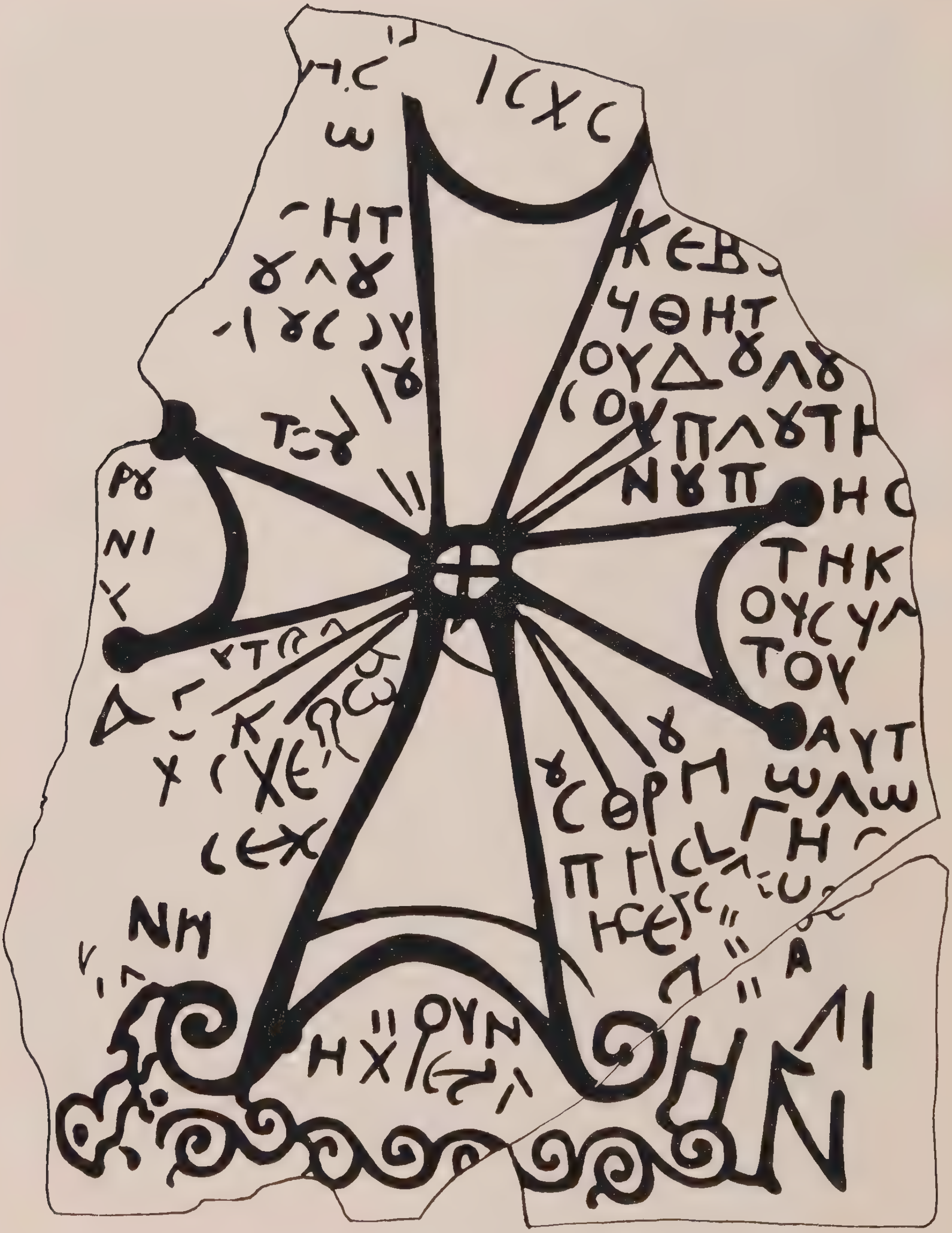
PLATE XXXVI



a. S 8 p. 127 f.   *b*. S 22 p. 139

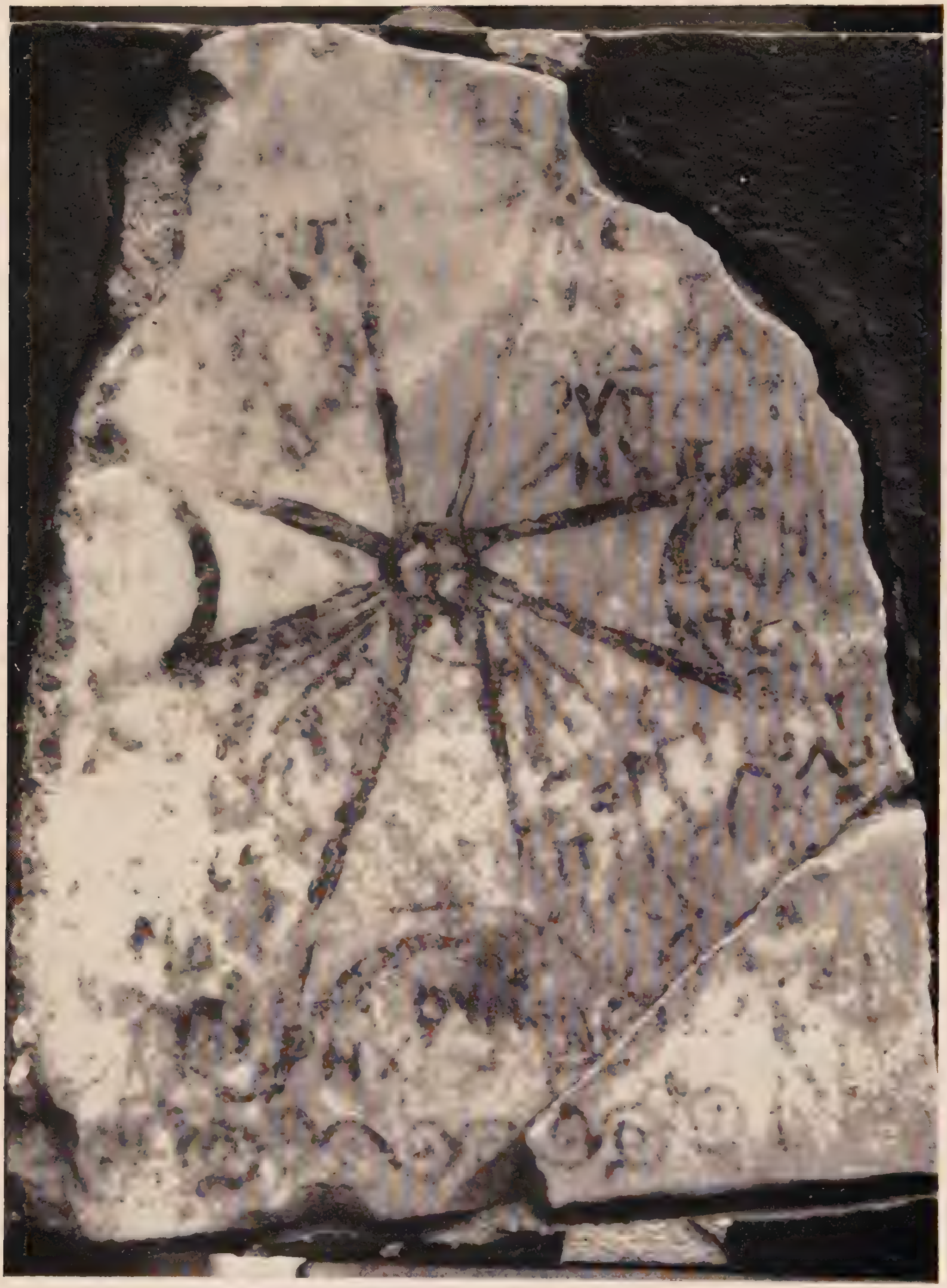
TRIPOLITANIAN INSCRIPTIONS

(*Photos: Antiquities Dept.*)



S 15 (p. 135 f.)

Tripolitanian Inscriptions



(*Antiquities Department*)

S 15 (p. 135).

Tripolitanian Inscriptions

1958.

6